

Young People's Emotional Experiences of Kaiapoi

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on Kaiapoi, a small town in North Canterbury, and studies the ways young people are discursively constructed by adults and each other, and also the different ways young people experience and use the town's environment. Drawing on key informant interviews, media analysis, a youth survey and a photography activity (photovoice); the research developed a rich understanding of the different ways young people are constructed in Kaiapoi and the places young people enjoy and do not enjoy going to in the town and why.

The research found that the dominant constructions and attitudes about young people were predominantly negative and generalised (e.g. lazy, out of control, or a problem to be solved). They were typically presented in local media as well as in the views of adults, who do not work with young people. These negative constructions and attitudes were the most widely circulated within Kaiapoi's discursive environment. Other adults, namely those who work with young people, had different constructions to describe different groups of young people. These adults typically understood the nuance and diversity of young people. It was also shown that young people contribute to the discursive environment by perceiving and constructing each other. In contrast to the negative constructions, these understandings of young people did not circulate widely within Kaiapoi but seemed to be contained within either the youth sector or youth population.

The findings also highlighted that, despite there being a widely held view that 'there is nothing to do in Kaiapoi' for young people, that young people were in fact creatively making use of the town's environment in response to the loss of places due to the earthquakes and also because there are not many places in Kaiapoi for young people. Different strategies were employed to make the places meaningful (e.g. privacy from adults, trickability and making use of seemingly insignificant places).

In addition to the strategies and creative use of the Kaiapoi environment, young people also had emotional experiences in different places in Kaiapoi. In places like home, Kaiapoi High School,

church's, parks and reserves many young people described how they felt happy, safe, included, welcomed, and like they belonged. However, for some young people, in places like Kaiapoi High School and the earthquake damaged areas in Kaiapoi they noted how they felt excluded, sad, isolated and unsafe. In light of this, this study proposed the concepts supportive and unsupportive places to better understand the experiences young people have of different places and why they might choose to use different places.

Possibilities for future research include developing the discussion of supportive and unsupportive places by considering the specific mechanisms that make places supportive and/or unsupportive and further explore the relationships between place, young people's experiences of place and their overall wellbeing.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Research Background

Human geography has long been interested in people's experiences of places, landscapes and environments. Whether we realise it or not, our experiences of places and the ways in which we negotiate and use our environments are shaped by different ideas and processes, including notions of how places should be used, the contestation of place, regulatory controls, and power relations. Behind these ideas and processes there are discourses or representations that contribute to the construction of people and place whereby they become associated with a distinct set of meanings. These meanings shape the production of a place and what constitutes acceptable and appropriate behaviour within it (Cresswell, 2009a). As a result, the discursive construction of people and place has varying spatial outcomes for different groups of people; depending on whether they or their behaviour is deemed acceptable or not, they may find themselves included or excluded from that place. Emotions can also often shape the way we negotiate and use our environments, and thus our experiences of place (Bondi, Davidson & Smith, 2005).

These ideas have been investigated within youth research that focuses on young people's experiences of the world in which they live (e.g. Aitken, 2001; Holloway & Valentine, 2000; Skelton & Valentine, 1998). This research has attempted to explore the ways in which young people negotiate and use the environments in which they live, and it has led to two main strands of enquiry: young people being 'out of place' in public spaces (e.g. Sibley, 1995); and young people's agency and creativity in using places in different ways (e.g. Vanderbeck & Dunkley, 2004). The first strand considers the ways in which public spaces are often considered to be adult-controlled or adult-defined (Valentine, 1996). One consequence of such an understanding is that young people have sometimes been considered a 'polluting presence' in public space, particularly if their behaviour is in some way problematic or troublesome (Valentine, Skelton & Chambers, 1998 p. 7).

Such behaviours often become the target of adults' actions, including the development of curfews or

by-laws that attempt to control, regulate and protect young people in public spaces. The second strand considers the ways in which young people are active members of societies who have agency to figure their own place within a community and use places as they choose (Vanderbeck & Dunkley, 2004). As a result they may resist the regulations and controls they are subjected to and construct their own meanings about themselves and the places they use. Research illustrates that this happens as young people create their own ways or strategies for accessing different places (Matthews, 2003), and also when they make their own places (Roberts, 2000). However within youth geography there is little research that foregrounds the felt or emotional dimensions of young people's experiences of place.

This thesis presents an account of the ways in which young people (aged 13-19 years) construct, understand and negotiate their lives in Kaiapoi, a small town in North Canterbury. It traces the discursive and physical environments that young people encounter while living in and moving around the town and considers the emotions that may arise as they do so.

Different Contexts of Negotiation

Whether young people live in a city or a small town, their experiences of places have interested researchers within the social sciences. What differs between the lives and experiences of urban young people and those who live in small towns? How do they negotiate the different places? How do adults see young people in these different settings? Do adults' views influence their experiences of places? These are just some of the questions that research within New Zealand and elsewhere has sought to address, thus helping understand the complex nature of young people's experiences in places (e.g. Nairn, Panelli & McCormack, 2003; Panelli et al., 2002b; Skelton & Valentine, 1998).

There has been a large body of research looking at urban youth and their experiences of place in inner city neighbourhoods (e.g. Cahill, 2000). This work considers the ways in which young people negotiate the environment to avoid the dangers within the urban environment. Contemporary

accounts of young people in urban environments demonstrate their reduced mobility, the increasing surveillance and controls of space in which young people can use and hang out in, and increasing fears about the safety of young people in public spaces (e.g. Collins & Kearns, 2001; Skelton & Valentine, 1998).

In contrast to the city environment, the small town environment is often presented as the antithesis of the urban. Whether semi-urban, semi-rural or rural, small towns have frequently been constructed as idyllic, peaceful and safe places where the community is close knit (Valentine, 1997). Within the literature, there has been much research that has explored the notion of the 'rural idyll' or the idyllic nature of small towns (e.g. Matthews et al., 2000; Valentine, 1997). Much of this work has originated from Britain and relates to rural areas and villages, rather than 'small towns'. However there has been research, for example, Nairn, Panelli and McCormack (2003) that explored the notion of the rural idyll within the context of small town New Zealand. Therefore, while much of the literature is British, research in other areas shows that the term is not limited to only understanding rural areas and villages, but can also inform discussions about small town New Zealand.

The small town lifestyle has sometimes been idealised as a peaceful existence away from the busyness of the city, where it is still possible to own a piece of land, grow some fruit trees, shop at farmers markets on the weekends, and participate in a range of activities in the natural environment (e.g. "Lifestyle Choices", 2014). However, the reality of such places is often quite different from these depictions. Small towns also face a range of different issues including sustained population loss due, in part, to the out-migration of young people, economic challenges including the growing income inequality compared with metropolitan areas, and being typically less exciting than the cultural constructions of small towns (Gibson & Argent, 2008). These issues facing small towns often become part of the culture of the place and also how the place is seen by outsiders. They also have an impact on the lives and experiences of people living in them.

A common issue for small towns is that often a large proportion of young people leave them after finishing school. The out-migration of young people often reflects an interplay between individual desires and aspirations, such as wanting to go to university, wanting to live in the city because it seems 'cooler' or wanting a change, and the conditions of the place they live with regard to opportunities for employment, education and leisure (Alston, 2004). For example, if a town does not offer suitable employment or educational opportunities young people may have to move out of the town in order to pursue employment or education elsewhere. Youth out-migration can lead to local skills shortages, particularly if the young people leaving are not returning later on. It also contributes to the 'set of wider discourses of 'decline' in rural places and thus feed into and perpetuate the 'doom and gloom' predictions' of the sustainability of small towns (Gibson & Argent, 2008 p. 136).

Small towns also typically face economic challenges. In New Zealand, traditionally the economy has been highly dependent upon agriculture and agricultural exports and because of this farming was heavily subsidised by the government up until the mid-1980s, which resulted in high levels of rural prosperity. As part of the economic restructuring that took place during the 1980s, however, farming subsidies were removed and rural areas began to experience economic changes and challenges (Le Heron & Pawson, 1996). This same process of economic restructuring had a detrimental impact on rural communities in Australia (Davidson, 2002). Beyond their primary industries, small towns typically do not offer the same economic opportunities for people, in terms of jobs, as cities do, and the relative lack of employment opportunities often has an impact on young people. For example, they may be expected to contribute to the family by getting a job which may take time away from doing school work or hanging out with friends, or they may not be able to participate in local sporting or recreational activities because they are too costly for their family, or they may feel less motivated to seek employment after school because of the modelling at home with parents living on the benefit.

Another thing we know about small towns is that often life in these places is not as exciting as they may be constructed. Representations of the small town lifestyle include positive images of the community, recreational opportunities and landscape. The rural idyll 'presents happy, healthy and problem-free images of rural life safely nestling with both a close social community and a contagious natural environment' (Cloke & Milbourne, 1992 p. 359). This idealised construction of life in small towns is based around the lifestyle where people live close to natural amenities that they can use whenever they like, and as a result they are never short of things to do. However in reality, and it would seem particularly for young people, that small towns are often considered to not have enough things to do or places to hang out and are therefore boring for the young people living in them. For example, in small town Canada young people described how there was nothing for them to do in their town and imagined that young people who lived in the city had many more places to socialise and hang out in (Vanderbeck & Dunkley, 2003). It has also been established within the rural geography literature that young people living in small towns often do have less places to go for entertainment than their urban counterparts (Matthews et al., 2000). For example young people living in cities may have access to cinemas, late-night shopping, bowling alleys, arcades, and so on. But these opportunities often do not exist for young people living in small towns.

As a result young people living in small towns often create their own fun by partying, drinking, driving around, skating and so on (e.g. Valentine et al., 2008; Skelton & Valentine, 1998). While this kind of behaviour, particularly drinking and partying, may not be specific to young people in small towns, research suggests that drinking in small town communities is sometimes more accepted by adults because of the shared notion that 'there's nothing for young people to do' (Valentine et al., 2008). Liberal attitudes towards underage drinking means that young people may have relatively easy access to alcohol, in turn reinforcing the significance of alcohol as a central and normal part of the social lives of young people in small towns. For many young people, having fun also often involves partying and driving around (Vanderbeck & Dunkley, 2003). In places where there is greater

policing of underage and binge drinking these behaviours may lead to a climate of moral concern – in some cases even moral panic – and a stronger police focus on underage and binge drinking.

Study Site: Kaiapoi

It is within this context of the small town that this project is located. The issues discussed above offer valuable insight into the context and potential struggles of people living in small towns. This thesis seeks to examine the experiences of young people living in Kaiapoi, a small town in North Canterbury (Fig. 1). This town of approximately 9,237 people is located within the Waimakariri District of the Canterbury region. The town is divided into eight areas, Camside, Kaiapoi North West, Kaiapoi North East, Kaiapoi South, Mansfield, Courtney, Kaiapoi West and Kaiapoi East. Kaiapoi has a range of commercial and social services including a high school, department store, and supermarkets, as well as a range of recreational opportunities for local residents and visitors.

Kaiapoi is often considered a satellite town of Christchurch, being only 17km north of the central city. This makes Kaiapoi unusual in comparison to many small towns in New Zealand, as it is less geographically isolated. Despite this close proximity to Christchurch, Kaiapoi faces similar issues to those mentioned above. For example, young people in Kaiapoi think that there is nothing to do in the town (Waimakariri District Council, 2010). They feel that there is little entertainment for them in Kaiapoi. Due to this, young people in Kaiapoi create their own fun through activities such as drinking, partying, playing sport, driving around, walking around or volunteering at local events (e.g. Ensor, 2013; Broughton, 2013). Some of these behaviours have led to a moral panic among some Kaiapoi residents. For example, some residents feel threatened by young people having ‘wild’ parties and have involved the police (Ensor, 2013). Some of these behaviours, such as drinking in public places, have been targeted by regulations, for example the Waimakariri liquor ban bylaw. In contrast, some of these behaviours have been positive, for example volunteering at local events.

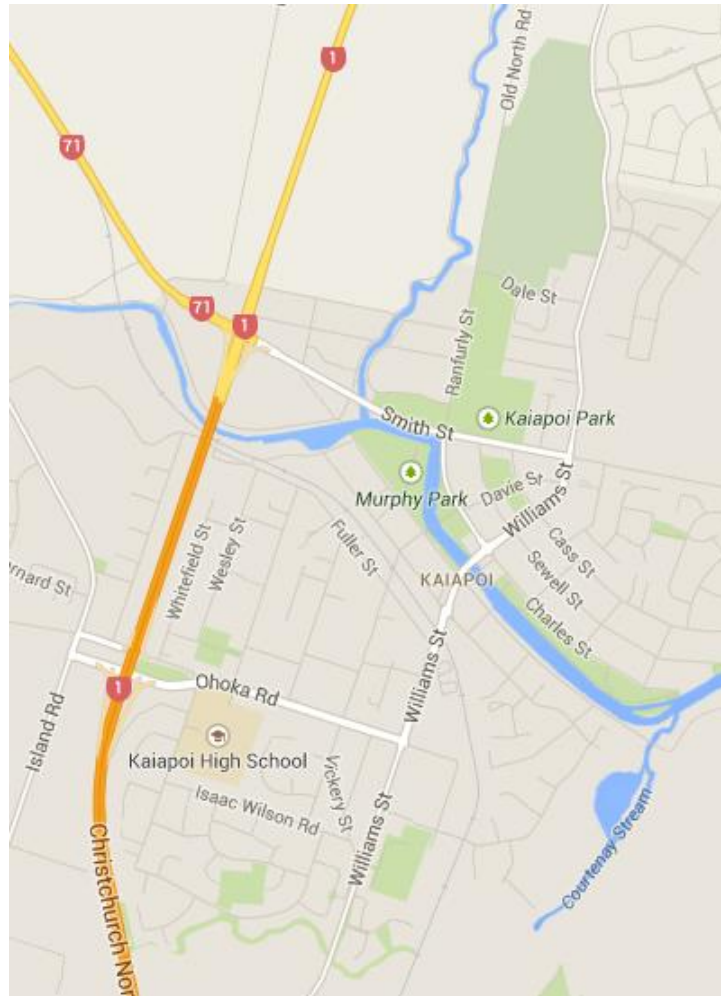


Figure 1 Map of Kaiapoi (Source: Google Maps)

It has also been identified that many young people leave Kaiapoi after finishing school, especially those aged 17-19, as part of what the local council describes as an ‘exodus of young people’ (Waimakariri District Council, 2010 p. 7). Educational and employment opportunities elsewhere seem to be major attractions, however, given Kaiapoi’s proximity to Christchurch, at least some young people will be able to continue living locally whilst commuting to workplaces or tertiary institutions in the city. But in saying this, some young people do decide to move into Christchurch to be closer to their study site or workplace, while others move cities entirely.

In addition to these issues, other concerns have been identified for young people living in the Waimakariri District, including educational underachievement. The Waimakariri District Council found that one in every ten young people in the region leave school with no formal qualification

which is above the national average (Waimakariri District Council, 2008). There has also been an increase in school referrals, from 239 referrals in 2006 to 335 in 2008 (Waimakariri District Council, 2010). Other issues include youth drug and alcohol issues, a demand for services by 'at risk' young people, and rural isolation, although this may not be as much of an issue for Kaiapoi young people compared to those living further inland in Rangiora or Oxford (Waimakariri District Council, 2010). While these issues have been described as issues facing the Waimakariri District, it is likely that each of them to a greater or lesser degree are also present within the main towns in the District, including Kaiapoi.

In addition to these concerns, Kaiapoi was also greatly affected by the 2010-2011 Canterbury earthquakes. The town suffered extensive damage following the September 2010 earthquake and subsequent earthquakes and aftershocks. Kaiapoi was among the hardest-hit areas following the September earthquakes (Greenhill, 2010). The town suffered damage including significant liquefaction, ground cracks, and damage to homes, businesses, services and infrastructure (Tonkin & Taylor, 2011). For example, the historic department store, Blackwell's, (Fig. 2), local cafes, skate park (Fig. 3), BMX track (Fig. 4), pool and library were all badly damaged. Some of these places were so badly damaged that they have not been repaired, like the BMX track, library and skate park, while other places have or are being repaired, like the pool and Blackwell's. The loss of some of these places has had a large impact on local young people, as they can no longer be used as places to hang out in Kaiapoi.



Figure 2 Damaged Blackwell's Department Store after the September 4th earthquake (Source: 3 News, 2011)



Figure 3 Damaged skate park in Kaiapoi after the September 4th earthquake (Source: Daily Mail, 2010)



Figure 4 Damaged BMX track in Kaiapoi after the September 4th earthquake (Source: Shirley and Brent Cairns)

Damage to homes and the subsequent land zoning decisions also meant that some people have had to move out of their homes. The areas of Kaiapoi that were badly damaged and deemed unsuitable for rebuilding and future residential inhabitation were zoned red while the areas that were deemed suitable for rebuilding and future residential inhabitation were zoned green. Residents living in the red zone were required to take the government or private insurance companies' pay out and move out of their home and buy or build another one; whereas residents living in the green zone did not have to relocate. This meant that people have relocated to different places depending on their circumstances. For example, a study by the Waimakariri District Council revealed that many residents wanted to relocate within Kaiapoi, while some wanted to move out of the town (Newell, Beaven & Johnston, 2012). Other major factors such as the increase in housing prices and the availability of rental properties have meant that many residents have not been able to afford to move within Kaiapoi and have had to go elsewhere. This population movement has also impacted many young people in Kaiapoi who have had friends and/or family move away from the area.



Figure 5 Damaged home in Kaiapoi red zone after the September 4th earthquake (Source: Stormy Dog, 2010)

My Interest and Research Questions

My particular interest in this project arose from three factors. Firstly it has come from my personal relationships with some of the young people living in Kaiapoi. As a youth leader in a local youth group for the past two years I have met many different young people from a range of different circumstances for example; split families, unemployed parents, stable homes, and low and high socioeconomic backgrounds. From observing and being part of their lives I have come to realise that life for many young people in Kaiapoi is not particularly easy. This has often meant that many young people resort to drinking, drugs, self-harm, antisocial behaviour, sex, and suicide as ways to cope and deal with their experiences.

My interest has also arisen from my reflection of the differences between my own experiences as a young person growing up in Auckland City compared to the experiences of young people in Kaiapoi. I grew up in central Auckland in a middle-upper class stable home. I went to a 'good' school which emphasised academic excellence and during my teenage years was given many opportunities to participate in sport, go on family holidays, and travel overseas. When reflecting on how different my

experiences as a young person were to young people in Kaiapoi I was struck by how comparatively difficult life is for many of them. This may be due to financial hardship, mental illness, unemployed parents, parental separation, or earthquake stress and so on. It is important to note that these issues are not unique to Kaiapoi, but that compared to my life as a young person, they are quite different.

Finally, my interest also came from a desire to better understand the emotional aspects of people's experiences in Kaiapoi which I had started investigating in previous postgraduate research (e.g. Tanner, 2012). Emotions play an integral part, both positively and negatively, in our interactions with people and place. Whether we realise it or not, the way in which we negotiate and use our local environments can be impacted by the emotions that we ascribe to or experience in places. If we feel safe and welcomed in a place it is likely we will want to spend time there, but if we feel excluded or isolated we are less likely to enjoy that place.

The combination of these three factors prompted me to want to understand the experiences and lives of young people in Kaiapoi. Where do young people hang out? What do they do for fun? What are their favourite places? How do adults view them? How do they view each other? Do they enjoy living in Kaiapoi? Are they proud of where they live? I became particularly interested in understanding how young people negotiate the discursive and physical environments of Kaiapoi in an effort to meet their social and emotional needs. Therefore the focal issue is thus how we might create positive and supportive environments for young people in Kaiapoi. To address this issue, it is crucial to understand the experiences of young people in Kaiapoi, and how they negotiate and use the environments to meet their needs. Therefore I pose the following research questions:

1. What are the discourses that adults and young people in Kaiapoi have about youth in the town?
2. How do local young people inhabit and experience the Kaiapoi town environment?
 - a. What emotions and experiences are associated with particular sites?
 - b. How are young people creatively making use of the environment? Why?

By understanding the different constructions of young people and the ways in which they negotiate and use their local environment it is hoped that a richer understanding of the nuance and complexity of young people and their experiences of place might emerge. This in turn may help to challenge and debunk some of the negative and prevalent constructions of young people in Kaiapoi and to provide valuable insights for services or groups working with young people in the town.

Thesis Structure

The thesis consists of six chapters. Following this introduction, Chapter 2 considers the literature that informs this project. I discuss how people and places are discursively constructed and how this may impact how people interact with and experience places. I then review key themes within emotional geography and discuss how emotions also impact how people inhabit places. As a final part of the theoretical background, the key geographical contributions to youth research are discussed. The chapter then moves to explore the theoretical and broader literature within the context of youth research. I review the debates surrounding the discursive construction of young people and note the problematic nature of the category. Then young people's experiences of public space are discussed with particular reference to spatial outcomes of the discursive constructions of young people and place, young people's resistance against the dominant discourses, and the emotions that are evoked as young people experience places. Lastly there is some discussion of two bodies of work, therapeutic landscapes and enabling place, that help us further understand young people's experiences of places in more detail.

Chapter 3 describes the research strategy and methodological techniques used in this project. I discuss the different approaches in youth research, and focus particularly on empowering young people within research, and some of the ethical issues that can arise when researching young people. In light of this, I then describe how participants were recruited; the different methods used for collecting data and some of the associated practical issues, as well as data analysis techniques I used. Finally, I review the research process and consider the influence of positionality and

intersubjectivity in the research, and their impacts on the research dynamics and the information that was shared.

Chapter 4 explores the discursive environment of Kaiapoi and the different constructions of young people that exist in the town. The chapter begins by considering the different ways young people are constructed by local media. I then explore the ways different adults, namely those who work with young people and those who do not, construct young people in Kaiapoi. The chapter then discusses how young people discursively construct one another. I conclude by considering how these discourses and ideas about young people may intersect and circulate within the town.

Chapter 5 considers young people's experiences and use of Kaiapoi's environment. I begin by investigating and problematising the view, held by many youth participants, that there is 'nothing to do' in Kaiapoi for young people. I then consider some of the strategies young people use to create meaningful places within Kaiapoi and in some cases to navigate the post-earthquake environment. The chapter concludes with a discussion about the emotional dimensions of young people's experiences of places they do and do not enjoy, using the concepts of supportive and unsupportive places.

Chapter 6 summarises and evaluates the findings from this project. The chapter begins with a summary of the key findings. Following this, I discuss the implications of the research, particularly in relation to existing youth-related initiatives in Kaiapoi and potential initiatives or projects. Finally, I reflect on the research process and briefly discuss the challenges of the project and make some suggestions regarding future research ideas.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Introduction

This thesis draws on literature from across the social sciences to support an enquiry into how young people experience the discursive and physical dimensions of their local environments, and what role emotions play in these experiences. The thesis lies at the intersection between youth geographies and emotional geographies. It develops a new approach to understanding youth and emotional geographies, given that there is little research within youth geography that considers emotion, and there is very little research within emotional geographies that considers young people.

This chapter will explore the relevant literature that informs this project. The chapter has three main parts, each of which has a series of sections. The first main part provides a theoretical background to the project by discussing key themes in the wider literature relating to the discursive construction of people and place, emotional geography and youth geography. It considers the ways in which people and places are discursively constructed, why emotions are an important focus of research and key geographical contributions to youth research. The second part of the chapter explores the broader literature, discussed in the first part, within the context of youth research. I investigate the discursive constructions of young people, noting the problematic nature of the category. I will also consider young people's experiences of public space by looking at the spatial outcomes of the discursive constructions of young people and place, young people's resistance against the dominant discourses, and the emotions that are evoked as young people experience places. Thirdly, I will look at two bodies of work, therapeutic landscapes and enabling place, that help us understand young people's experiences of places in more detail. Overall, the chapter aims to discuss a range of literature that can support an understanding of young people's experiences of public space and the emotions that arise therein.

Constructing People and Places

People's experiences of their local environment are, in part, influenced by the way they are socially constructed but also by how places are practised or inhabited. The meanings that are ascribed to people and places through their construction and production can impact the way in which people interact with and experience places. This section will explore three key areas of research: firstly, how places are made; how people are constructed; and, how discursive constructions of people have spatial realities. These are of particular importance because part of this project seeks to understand how young people use and make meaningful places within the Kaiapoi town environment. It also aims to explore the discursive environment of Kaiapoi, in particular the way that young people are constructed by adults (often the dominant group) and other young people.

Making Spaces into Places

In order to understand how places are made, we must first explore two key fundamental yet related concepts; space and place. Space is a key geographical idea, and has been conceptualised in many different ways. For example, it has been conceptualised as a container within which things happen, as a 'geometric system of organisation within which people and objects [were] located and move[d] through' (Kitchin, 2009 p. 269), and as a mental and social construct produced through social relations and practices (Lefebvre, 1991). For this discussion, I will use the widely noted understanding of space as the 'distinction to place as a realm without meaning – as a 'fact of life' which, like time, produces the basic co-ordinates for human life' (Cresswell, 2004 p. 10). In this sense, space is the precursor to place, whereby when people experience and invest meaning into space it is transformed into place.

Agnew (1987) theorised place as a meaningful location made up of three fundamental aspects: location, locale and sense of place. Location refers to where a site is (Cresswell, 2004). The material components that shape a place in which people live their lives make up the locale (Cresswell, 2004). Sense of place is then the subjective and emotional attachment people have to place (Cresswell,

2004). In contrast to space, place can be conceptualised as a particular location or setting that has acquired a set of meanings, values and attachments (Cresswell, 2009b).

As described briefly above, spaces are transformed into places when they are used and lived in; when they are experienced (Cresswell, 2009b). As Tuan (1977) puts it, 'what begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value' (p. 6). Tuan (1974) suggests that place is about stopping and resting and becoming involved. As people inhabit and dwell in places, they often ascribe meaning and value to those places and develop attachments and emotional connections to them.

When people inhabit and experience places, they encounter a combination of materiality, meaning and practice. Places have a material structure that is often how they are recognised (Cresswell, 2009b). For example, towns and neighbourhoods have shops, roads, libraries and parks that make up those places. Meaning is another central element of place. When we invest meaning and value in a location it becomes a place. While meanings may be shared, they are not fixed, but instead created and recreated as people are exposed to other representations and experiences of places. Finally, places are practised. People do things in place. Their activities, actions or behaviours are partly responsible for the meanings that a place may have and how it is produced. Cresswell (2009b) describes how 'places are continuously enacted as people go about their everyday lives – going to work, doing the shopping, spending leisure time, and hanging out on street corners' (p. 170). By thinking of place as practised, we can be challenged to view place as open and non-essentialised, in the sense that it is constantly contested and reimagined in different ways by different people.

Discursively Constructing People and Places

Understanding the ways in which people and places are discursively constructed relies on understanding two key concepts: representation and discourse. The term representation is understood and used here as a 'portrayal, or equally to the act of portrayal of certain ideas, objects, place, or people' (Scott, 2009 p. 351). Representations can take the form of a material product, such

as a written text or image, but are also produced intangibly through communication and spoken words. They structure our understanding of the world because they are fundamentally linked to the construction of knowledge and the shaping of social relations between different groups. This is because 'an ability to represent things in certain ways (and not others) therefore becomes an ability to shape ideas about the type of relationships that exist between different people or between people and place' (Holloway & Hubbard, 2001 p. 149). However this ability to represent things and construct meanings does not exist for everyone. The difference in the ability to construct meaning, and the active consideration of particular group's interests and knowledges as Scott (2009) described, reveals the power relations that exist within the construction of knowledge. It is often only the powerful groups within society, such as adults, that have this ability, while the less powerful groups, such as young people, often become the subjects of various representations. Within this context of uneven power relations 'people and places are given new meaning, but it is not necessarily one of their own making' (Nayak & Jeffrey, 2011 p. 98). It is also within this context that we get some of the negative constructions of young people that will be discussed in detail later on in the chapter.

Representations of people and places are connected to discourses that 'encompass particular ways of looking at the world (and not others)' (Holloway & Hubbard, 2001 p. 151). Some authors, namely Foucault, suggest that knowledge about people and places is produced through discourses (Holloway & Hubbard, 2001). Discourse is defined here as being a 'specific series of representations, practices, and performances through which meanings are produced, connected into networks and legitimised' (Gregory, 2000 p. 180). Discourses indicate a common way of talking about, thinking about and representing something (Holloway & Hubbard, 2001). Gregory (2000) argues that, amongst other things, discourses are heterogeneous. They are not produced by one individual and confined to written and visual text but instead travel through different domains, including verbal communication, and carry multiple meanings and implications. He also suggests discourses are embedded. Rather than being unattached, 'free-floating' constructions, they are 'materially implicated in the conduct of

social life' and are embedded into institutions and social positions (p. 180). Finally, Gregory (2000) describes discourses as being situated. This means they provide partial, situated knowledges that are characterised by power relations, and therefore are open to contestation and negotiation.

These characteristics enable us to see discourses as 'ways of knowing and understanding the social world, generating values and particular ways of being' (Nayak & Jeffrey, 2011 p. 209). They demonstrate how discourses are implicated in the shaping of the social world. Gregory (2000) supports this, writing 'discourses shape the contours of the taken-for-granted world: they naturalise and often implicitly universalise a particular view of the world and position subjects differentially within it' (p. 181). Powerful groups in society are able to shape not only what people know but also the way people think about places and other people by controlling discourses (Holloway & Hubbard, 2001). In doing this, these groups determine the acceptable behaviours and identities in certain places that frequently become the common views that are held by society. However, Holloway and Hubbard (2001) suggest that for every dominant discourse or representation there are usually various subordinate or resistant discourses and representations. Therefore it is important to be mindful of this possibility when trying to understand the discourses present in society.

There are two approaches that can be used to understand how powerful groups control discourse and represent themselves and others. The first approach is the social constructionist approach. This approach contests essentialist assumptions about identity and instead argues that the differences between people are socially constructed, shaped by the interweaving of wider socio-spatial processes and individual biographies, rather than being directly determined by biology (Holloway, 2005). In this sense, it is the 'social context of individuals and groups [that] constructs the reality that they know' (Barnes, 2009 p. 690). This means that powerful groups within societies, such as the wealthy or adults, often ascribe meaning to and create discourses about people and places from their social position which in turn privileges and often normalises their ideas or discourses. However,

these discourses are not universal but instead highly contextualised, varying across time and space in response to variations in social relations.

The second approach draws on psychoanalytic traditions and uses the Self/Other binary logic. In this approach, the Self attempts to distance itself from people and objects it experiences in some way as negative, which it thus defines and experiences as 'Other' (Holloway, 2005). The ideas that constitute the Self and the Other are culturally produced through social interactions; thus they are contextual and specific to particular times and places. The Self is frequently considered the group whose representations of other groups often becomes the mainstream view, and constitutes what we consider as 'normal' and socially acceptable (Sibley, 2009). The Other is marked as different and is the group that is represented (Sibley, 1995). For example, adults (often a dominant group) may construct young people using representations such as 'deviant youth' or 'youth as a risk to others' (Griffin, 1993). This demarcating typically, but not exclusively, involves individuals or groups being negatively stereotyped and as a result the Other becomes 'the socially marginalised, the less powerful, the working class, black, female, gay, lesbian, disabled, the geographically peripheral' (Rose, 1995 p. 104), or the child and young person (Cohen, 1972). The asymmetrical power relations allow the Self to hold the power to control, define and construct ideas and discourses about the Other. The negative stereotypes, such as 'youth are drunks', often become the dominant representations of the Other and impacts how people think about them.

However this binary approach has received critique. These critiques have been directed at the 'uncritical assumption about the existence and obvious nature of otherness' (Cloke, 2005 p. 63). Philo (1997) argues that this assumption locks us into a 'thought-prison of "the same"' (p. 22), which makes it difficult to appreciate the Other. Augé (1998) suggests that we need to seek a sense for, and of, the Other. This means we need to have an intellectual understanding of the way intolerance creates and structures Otherness in the world, as well as trying to understand the meanings and values that are instituted among and lived out by people within Othered social groups. For example,

this may be done within youth research, like this project, by considering the ways that young people are constructed or othered but also trying to understand their lives and experiences. As we do that it is likely that we will encounter new ideas and meanings about Othered people that will challenge the 'formulaic view of what is Other' that we hold as a result of the dominant representations of the Other (Cloke, 2005 p. 70).

Spatial Outcomes of Discursive Constructions

As discussed above, places are sites invested with meaning. This investment of meaning frequently takes place within the context of power, whereby the creation of place becomes characterised by inclusion and exclusion; what lies inside and outside and who and what belongs in different places at different times (Cresswell, 2004). Cresswell (2004) writes, 'as long as place signifies a tight and relatively immobile connection between groups of people and a site then it will be constantly implicated in the construction of 'us' (people who belong in a place) and 'them' (people who do not). In this way outsiders are constructed' (p. 39). Stereotypical representations of the Self and Other typically 'inform the social practices of inclusion and exclusion, the processes through which different social groups come to be constructed as in and out of place in particular settings' (Holloway, 2005, p. 400).

The process of differentiating between 'us' and 'them' is often in part expressed through spatial demarcations and dynamics (Sibley, 1995). Places have different meanings for different individuals and groups which impacts people's use and experiences of place and reflect the power relations present in society. Cresswell (1996) argues that the meanings of places are not given, but instead created by those who have more power. These people with power develop constructions and ideas about places that may undermine and marginalise the interpretations and meanings held by less powerful people (Rose, 1995). As part of constructing places, groups project their dominant values and ideas onto place (Sibley, 1995). The dominant groups often determine who can use the place, and what constitutes appropriate and inappropriate behaviour. For example, we see this frequently

occurring within public space as adults create rules and regulations about appropriate behaviour for young people. These processes often result in very different experiences for different people. Some may experience belonging in place while others may be excluded from them. As a result, places come to have different meanings for different people, depending on their level of access to different places.

The discursive construction of the Other, along with the creation of dominant social norms in different places influences who belongs in a place and who does not (Rose, 1995). Cresswell (1996) developed the idea of transgression that provides 'a lens through which to explore the construction of public space because it illuminates social norms that are often invisible and taken for granted' (p. 311-312). The social norms attached to different places determine the appropriate ways to use and behave in those places and who belongs and who does not. The discursive construction of the Other typically constructs them as deviant and their perceived behaviour is deemed inappropriate or 'transgressive' in different places. Because of this, the Other is frequently seen as 'out of place' and excluded from using different places (Cresswell, 1996).

In saying this, research also shows that people are able to resist these norms about practice in place by using places in subversive ways (Cresswell, 1996). The responses of the Other are diverse; some accept and live with being 'out of place' while others try and resist it (Rose, 1995). For example, Woolley and Johns (2001) found that despite skating bans in the city centre of Manchester, young people continued to skateboard in the area and therefore resisted the norms. Particular definitions of place can be contested because they are constructed and not fixed. The discursive and social construction of people and place suggests that the discourses of them are not natural or ordained, and can therefore be contested and resisted. If marginal groups used place differently to the social norms, for example, young people choosing to hang out with friends in places at different times than adults (Hil & Bessant, 1999), they may begin to establish new meanings of place that could challenge the dominant constructions and social norms of places.

Emotion and Place

Another important body of work that informs this thesis is work in emotional geographies. Emotional geography is a fairly recent sub-discipline within human geography. This emerging body of work critiques the traditional assumptions within geography that emotions are not materially important (Bondi, Davidson & Smith, 2005). Emotional geographers argue that our emotions matter because they can impact how we live our lives and how we understand the world around us (Anderson & Smith, 2001). For example, at times in our lives there may be moments when we experience different emotions such as pain, elation, anger, love and so on which may change how we act and think about the world. Emotions are an integral part of our everyday lives and shape both the nature of places and how we inhabit them (Davidson & Smith, 2009). This section will explore some of the key themes within emotional geographies to show how emotions, experience and place are intricately connected.

Why Study Emotions?

People's experiences of the places involve emotions, including 'their subjective feelings about, and in relation to, these places...' (Bondi, 2009 p. 446). Emotions are an important aspect of what it means to be human. They 'tint all human experience' (Tuan, 1977 p. 8) and 'they have tangible effects on our surroundings and can shape the very nature and experience of our being-in-the-world' (Davidson & Milligan, 2004 p. 524). Emotions are typically thought to belong to people, but Bondi (2009) suggests this is not always the case. She proposes that certain places may be imbued with emotions, and may become sources of emotion for people in the sense that places affect what is felt and what takes place. Davidson and Smith (2009) suggest that emotional responses define places. Particular feelings may become associated with that place and become part of their construction and interpretation of the place. From this emotions can also help us to negotiate and use places and environments. For example, if we feel safe and welcomed in a place it is likely we will want to spend time there, but if we feel excluded or isolated we are less likely to enjoy that place. Emotions play an

integral part, both positively and negatively, in our interactions with people and place, and therefore warrant further investigation and study.

Key Themes in Emotional Geography

In their book, *Emotional Geographies*, Bondi, Davidson and Smith (2005) introduce two key themes that are relevant to this project: locating emotion in both bodies and places and the emotional relationality of people and environments. These themes are of particular importance because this project is partly concerned with the different places that evoke different emotions in young people.

The first theme, locating emotion, stems from research that has demonstrated that emotions are felt most notably in bodies and places (Bondi, Davidson & Smith, 2005). Research has suggested that emotions are experienced by or are located within and around our bodies (e.g. Davidson and Milligan, 2004). Research has also shown that emotions are connected to specific sites and contexts, often in the form of emotional attachments (e.g. Mathee, 2004). For example, in their study, Milligan, Bingley & Gatrell (2005) explored the shifting nature of attachment among older people. They found that older people were spatially marginalised which lead them to experience feelings of isolation, hurt and restriction. The authors explored the positive emotional experiences of shared community spaces, and found that these places were important for older people and fostered feelings of self-worth and belonging.

Other researchers within and beyond geography have considered the 'locating emotion' theme. Tuan (1974) introduced the term topophilia or 'love of place' to describe the emotional bond between people and place. His work investigated the ways in which people perceive places and develop attitudes and values about places as a result of the emotions they experience. He also discovered that people perceive places based, not only on the physical environment, but also by their emotions (Tuan, 1977). Additionally, the term 'sense of place' also conceptualises people's emotional connections with place. The term refers to the 'emotive bonds and attachments people develop or experience in particular environments, from the national, regional, or urban levels all the way to the

personal scale of the neighbourhood and home' (Foote and Azaryahu, 2009 p. 96), or the feelings and meanings that we attach to places (Rose, 1995). The term provides the scope for the negative, positive, weak and strong emotions associated with places to be understood (Trentelman, 2009).

One last way other disciplines have considered the location of emotion is by looking at the concept of place attachment. This concept has been mostly used within environmental psychology to describe the emotional ties people have to places (e.g. Low & Altman, 1992). It suggests that as people interact with their social, material and physical environments, emotional bonds and ties are created between people and place (Low & Altman, 1992). Often these bonds are experienced as a sense of constancy, rootedness, belonging or security (Williams, 2002).

The second theme identified by Bondi, Davidson and Smith (2005) is the emotional relationality of people and environment. The concept of emotional relationality refers to the way in which emotions are produced by the relations between and among people and places/environments. Emotions can arise as people negotiate the socio-spatial practices and discourses that exist within their everyday lives. For example, Sibley (1995) demonstrates how emotions have a central role in the constructions of the Self and the Other and the spatial consequences of such constructions as the Other may experience exclusion and marginalisation. However, aside from Sibley's (1995) work on geographies of exclusion, few researchers have considered how emotions underpin the inequalities that result from particular social identities, practices or discourses. This seems surprising given that the result of constructing social identities and discourses about people often leads to potentially emotional consequences such as exclusion and oppression.

Understanding emotion as the product of the relationships between and among people and places offers alternative ways to conceptualise and think about the geographies of exclusion and oppression (Bondi, Davidson & Smith, 2005). In particular, it helps to demonstrate how emotions can be seen as a 'form of connective tissue' that links people's experience with(in) the broader social geographies of place' (Davidson & Milligan, 2004 p. 524).

Youth and Geography

Research exploring youth and childhood is a relatively new field within geography. James (1990) proposes three reasons why there has been a scarcity of youth research within geography. First, it was thought that children and young people had the same spatial distributions as adults. Secondly, researchers did not realise the significance or value of children's or young people's spatial behaviours and experiences of places; and lastly, it was thought that studying children in their 'natural' environment (e.g. playground, homes, schools or neighbourhood) was too difficult. The combination of these three factors meant that research involving children or youth was not seen as worthwhile, and therefore did not often occur.

During the late 1980s and early 1990s, as social and cultural geographers became interested in difference and marginalised populations, research involving children and youth emerged. Since then, geographers have made significant contributions to youth research by considering the spatialities of young people's lives (see, for example, Aitken, 2001; Holloway & Valentine, 2000; Hopkins, 2010; Skelton & Valentine, 1998). Research has considered young people's lives in a range of spaces including the home, work place, school and public space. A central assertion of this work is that 'children and young people are important social actors whose experiences of spaces and places may vary from adults' experiences' (Evans, 2008 p. 1659). Geographical research has also contributed to the critiques of essentialised constructions of young people by considering how they vary across time and space. It has also considered how discourses about appropriate uses of places and who can use them can impact young people's experiences of places (Holloway & Valentine, 2000).

In what follows I elaborate on the different contributions by considering the discursive construction of young people and public space and how these constructions impact young people's access, use and experiences of public space. I will then extend the discussion by considering the emotional aspects of young people's encounters with public space. I consider the emotions that may arise as young people negotiate the discursive and physical dimensions of place.

The Discursive Construction of Youth and Youth Identities

The experience of youth is complex. The period from age 13 to age 19 constitutes one of the most formative stages of an individual's life. It is often thought of as a transitional period between childhood and adulthood (Goossens, 2006). During this period people undergo drastic developmental changes physically, mentally, socially and emotionally. An individual's confidence, character, experience, aspirations and understanding of social norms, and expectations are likely to change and develop.

Due to the rapid changes occurring across this period, it is likely that being a young teenager is quite different from being an older teenager. As a result the category of youth, adolescent or teenager covers a broad and diverse range of experiences. Despite this, researchers continue to use the age-based understanding of youth (13-19 years old). For this thesis, I hope to be able make some comparisons between young (13-15 years old) and older teenagers (16-19 years old), and so while I use the term youth and young people interchangeably throughout this review, in later chapters I will differentiate between the groups.

Over time young people have been constructed in popular culture and understood by academics through multiple guises. Like many social identities, young people were first defined according to their biology, which in this case is related to chronological age (Holloway & Valentine, 2000). As a biologically defined category, they can be seen as 'human becomings', people who have not yet reached biological or social maturity and who are yet to develop adult competencies (Holloway & Valentine, 2000). Their social identity and needs are determined by their cognitive, psychosocial, or pubertal development (Lesko, 2001). Puberty and the emotional and hormonal turmoil associated with it become what distinguish young people from adults (Griffin, 1993). As a result, young people may be assigned the status of 'less-than-adult' and childhood and adolescence become periods in which children and young people are developed and socialised into adults (Holloway & Valentine, 2000 p. 2).

Defining young people according to their biology has given rise to some influential characterisations (Lesko, 2001). For example, young people are sometimes seen as controlled by their raging hormones or are 'coming of age'. Essentialised characterisations of this kind ground adolescence in biology, making it difficult to contest the meanings attached to the social category/identity. However, there have been some authors that argue that the marking of children and young people as a category 'other' to adults is historically specific (e.g. Aries, 1962; Holloway & Valentine, 2000). In this sense, the concepts of childhood and adolescence in Western societies are fairly recent, emerging during the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries (Jenks, 2005). However prior to these times, the categories of child or young person did not exist which begins to complicate the essentialised characterisations (Holloway & Valentine, 2000).

Jenks (2005) identified two ways of thinking about the category of the child: the Dionysian and Apollonian views of childhood. The Dionysian view sees children as 'little devils', who are naughty, unruly and unsocialised beings which motivated efforts to remove the devil within them and correct their behaviour by controlling, regulating and educating children (Valentine, 2004). In this way, schools became key tools in the socialisation process for children (May, 1973). In contrast, the Apollonian view sees children as 'little angels', who are innocent, good and untainted by the world. Here, children are seen to be vulnerable to risks and dangers in the world and therefore need protecting by parents or guardians. There is an inherent contradiction between both views, in that children are constructed as both good and bad. This contradiction co-exists to maintain the 'otherness' of children and their dependency on adults.

Like childhood, the category of 'adolescence' is also constructed. Some argue the idea of adolescence was 'invented to create a breathing space between the golden age of 'innocent' childhood and the realities of adulthood' (Valentine, Skelton & Chambers, 1998 p. 4). According to Aries (1962) the emergence of this category began in the early eighteenth century. Adolescence became described as a 'quarantine' period. During this time, middle class young people were

educated for longer and learnt the ways of the world so that they would mature and be transformed into adults (Valentine, Skelton & Chambers, 1998). In the nineteenth century the distance between young people and adults further widened and the transitional stage lengthened. It was during this time that middle class adults became preoccupied with controlling and regulating the behaviour of working class young people, as well as their own adolescents. Here we begin to see the origins of the moral panic surrounding young people that remain associated with young people today, whereby youth are defined as 'trouble'. In contrast, during the 1950s there was a shift in emphasis towards consumption, style and leisure which led to the development of different goods and services aimed at a new niche market – young people (Valentine, Skelton & Chambers, 1998). This period of relative affluence prompted the invention of the 'teenager' and ideas and definitions of 'youth-as-fun' began to emerge.

By illustrating the multiple and fluid ways that the concepts of childhood and adolescence have been identified and constructed, we can begin to see that childhood and youth are socially constructed identities (Holloway & Valentine, 2000; Valentine, Skelton & Chambers, 1998). Therefore, instead of youth being a category solely defined by biology, it is a social construction that is both the product of a 'lengthy historical process' and the interweaving of wider socio-spatial processes (Holloway & Valentine, 2000 p. 4; Holloway, 2005). As a result, the construction of youth is never fixed or constant, but a continuing process as understandings are reinterpreted across different times and spaces. For example, Dwyer (1998) explored the dominant representations of young British Muslim women and found that the young women were constructing new identities through cultural practices such as dress styles, listening to music and watching television. She identified that the common representations of Muslim women are that they are passive victims of oppressive cultures. Young Muslim women are frequently defined as being caught between the two cultures of traditional/fundamentalist home and secular/modern school. In her study, Dwyer showed how young Muslim women seek to define their own identities by their dress, wearing 'English' or 'Western' clothes, and their consumption of media, such as watching soap operas.

In many cases, different understandings about youth co-exist and complicate youth identities. Similar to the Dionysian and Apollonian views of childhood, the construction of youth is also contradictory. Young people are sometimes constructed as being at risk in the environment whilst on other occasions they are constructed as a risk to others (because of their unruly behaviour) (Griffin, 1993). Panelli et al. (2002a) explores these contradictions by considering the discourses about young people represented in local newspapers. They found that the dominant representations of youth were that they were drunks, they were associated with disorder and disruption in public places and they require supervision. The former two discourses represent the ways in which young people are constructed as a risk to others; while the last discourse reflects how young people can also be seen to be at risk in the environment.

Other imaginings of youth exist. For example, young people are sometimes viewed as 'consumption-oriented, into subcultural styles based on music and drugs, and free to embark on adventurous travel' (Valentine, Skelton & Chambers, 1998 p. 1). Other stereotypical images of youth include young people are out to have a good time, carefree, rebellious, innocent, problematic, fun, irresponsible, and social. However these stereotypical and often spectacular constructions tend to make us forget that there are also important experiences in the mundane and everyday activities, for example hanging out with friends.

Despite all the different definitions and constructions, young people occupy a liminal space where they are positioned ambiguously between childhood and adulthood (Robson, 2010). Sibley (1995) writes:

[The] child/adult illustrates a...contested boundary. The limits of the category 'child' vary between cultures and have changed considerably through history within Western, capitalist societies. The boundary separating child and adult is a decidedly fuzzy one. Adolescence is an ambiguous zone within which the child/adult boundary can be variously located according to who is doing the categorising. Thus, adolescents are denied access to the adult world, but they attempt to distance themselves from the world of the child. At the same time they retain some links with childhood.

Adolescents may appear threatening to adults because they transgress the adult/child boundary and appear discrepant in 'adult' spaces...These problems encountered by teenagers demonstrate that the act of drawing the line in the construction of discrete categories interrupts what is naturally continuous. It is by definition an arbitrary act and thus may be seen as unjust by those who suffer the consequences of the division.

(p. 34-35)

The boundaries that define youth are characterised by exclusion. These boundaries define what young people are not, cannot do, or cannot be. James (1986) uses age-related legal classifications to demonstrate such boundaries enforced on young people. She describes how the age at which young people can drink alcohol, earn money, join the army, or consent to sexual intercourse becomes the defining factor for the end of childhood and the beginning of adulthood. However these classifications are variable and context-specific and so these boundaries, like the general constructions of youth, begin to highlight the problematic nature of discrete categories and rules.

In New Zealand, there are a range of different age-related distinctions that are imposed on young people under the age of 18. For example, a person can be prosecuted for a criminal offence but cannot be home alone until the age of 14. At age 14, a person is legally recognised as a young person rather than a child. At age 16, young people are permitted to start driving a car, leave home, get married with their parents' consent, get a fire arms license and give sexual consent but are not allowed to buy fireworks, alcohol, cigarettes, or tobacco or vote until they are 18 years old. But a young person can go to prison or join the Navy, Army or Air Force and serve their country at age 17 (Citizens Advice Bureau, 2013). These age-related legal classifications reinforce the definitions of what it means to be a young person in New Zealand and maintain the boundaries of exclusion that young people experience.

Finally, as way of a summary and reflection, as researchers, it is important not to essentialise the concept of youth and construct youth as a single category. Youth are not a homogenous social group that share universal experiences and attitudes. Despite what some essentialised constructions might

suggest young people are a heterogeneous group that behave, live and experience places in different ways. Wyn and White (1997) support this by writing, 'young people do share in common their age, but the social, economic and cultural significance of this physical reality are far from common' (p. 25). This highlights that in reality young people have different experiences in places. These differences make up the diversity within the youth population and provide a rich and varied set of experiences.

Young People's Experiences in Public Space

Being Out of Place

Many authors have explored the ways in which public space is produced and maintained as adult space where young people are often considered to be out of place (e.g. Aitken, 2001; Holloway and Valentine, 2000; Sibley, 1995; Skelton and Valentine, 1998; and Valentine, 1996). Cresswell's (1996) concept of transgression supports this understanding of public space and helps to show how the often invisible and taken-for-granted dominant social norms construct public space. Our behaviour in public is determined by social norms that define appropriate and inappropriate behaviours. Different groups of people have different ideas about what is considered appropriate behaviour, but those in positions of authority or at the top of social hierarchies can label certain people or behaviours as bad (Nolan, 2003). In doing this, the behaviours that oppose or challenge the appropriate ways of behaving, or the dominant cultural values of a place, become the transgressive behaviours that are seen as out of place.

Transgression offers a useful approach to examine young people's experiences of place. The way young people use space often challenges the spatial hegemony of many public spaces and their behaviour is often seen as deviant and problematic. Often adults are in positions of authority and therefore determine what is considered appropriate and inappropriate behaviour in spaces for different people, particularly young people. This offers an explanation for how we have ideas about public space as an adult-defined and adult-controlled space (Valentine, 1996). Adults define who

belongs in public space through the use of dominant constructions of youth in public space, such as youth are drunks, disruptive and delinquent. These constructions often position young people as 'outsiders' or 'out of place' in public spaces. It is not until they are socialised into 'adults' ways of being and behaving that they are granted access and 'insider' status in public space (Holloway & Valentine, 2000).

Young people have sometimes been considered a 'polluting presence' in public space - a potential threat to public order (Valentine, Skelton & Chambers, 1998 p. 7). This moral panic has prompted adult action to maintain the boundaries between adolescence and adulthood by introducing controls and regulatory regimes. Adults set spatial and temporal controls, such as curfews and by-laws, on young people's activities/behaviour in public space as ways to regulate, control, and protect young people. In their study, Collins and Kearns (2001) explored curfews in two small towns in New Zealand. They found that curfews arose from the fear that residents had about their local environment being tainted by youthful deviance and operated by controlling young people's access to and use of public space. Implementing curfews and excluding young people from public spaces reinforces the idea that curfews are the most effective way to combat juvenile delinquency, teenage deviance and keep young people safe. Importantly, these interests parallel with the dominant and contradictory constructions of youth, and serve to perpetuate the constructions in the discursive landscape.

There is some research that has critiqued the effectiveness of curfews. A study by Males and Macallair (1998) found that the outcomes of curfews may not be as successful as intended. They found that curfew enforcement had no effect on crime, youth crime or youth safety. Collins and Kearns (2001) describe how curfews are troublesome because they intrude upon young people's rights. They serve as a way to reinforce a sense of powerless and alienation of young people (Matthews, Limb & Taylor, 2000). Therefore instead of offering a way forward, curfews only portray and reinforce how contemporary society perceives young people.

Another spatial control adults use to regulate young people's use of public space is by-laws. Laws, for example, the restrictions on the use of skateboards and bicycles in public space, or the prevention of loitering, are all intended to control young people's access and use of public space (Nolan, 2003). By-laws often target behaviour that is considered inappropriate and that challenges the normative construction of public space. As a result they regulate and restrict the behaviours of young people in public space. For example, Taylor and Khan (2011) found that skateboarding was frequently seen as a public nuisance activity that became the subject of by-laws that restricted the areas where young people could legally skate. As a result, young people were excluded and prohibited from skateboarding in areas that were not specifically designated for skateboarding. The area in which young people could access to skate was reduced to only skate parks. Another example of by-laws imposed on young people is the prevention of loitering. Kelly (2003) describes that young people are prevented from gathering or loitering in public spaces as by-laws often allow police to move young people on if they are seen to be causing anxiety or threat to others. He argues how these limits are set on young people in public space because of the perceived potential threat that they pose on others in public space. These actions to prevent the loitering of young people reflect the dominant discourses of youth and the 'institutionalised mistrust of youth' (Kelly, 2003 p. 3).

Each of these examples demonstrates how adults can establish and maintain their authority and control of public space through the discourses they hold about young people, and the assertion of those discourses through action (Valentine, 1996). However, as explored in the next section, 'control is never absolute but contested in a range of ways' (Skelton & Hamed, 2010 p. 203).

Along with being excluded from public space by adults, young people also encounter other groups of young people in public space. Young people from different groups use space differently and often want to control the areas where they 'hang out' (Nairn, McCormack & Liepins, 2000; Percy-Smith & Matthews, 2001). Many young people create territories based around group norms, such as particular types of behaviour or activities, certain clothing, haircuts, and musical tastes (Matthews,

Limb & Percy-Smith, 1998). These norms become boundaries that mark the differences between groups. The politics of difference that exist within society are both challenged and reproduced as young people construct their own local 'otherings' (Vanderbeck & Dunkley, 2004). They are challenged because it is young people rather than adults who are doing the categorising. However, the politics of difference are also reproduced as the differences between groups of young people are created and become boundaries. The reproductions result in spaces that are made up of differentiated and meaningful micro-territories where some young people may feel comfortable while others do not belong. Watt and Stenson (1998) found that local otherings made some young people feel unsafe in some public spaces because they perceived other groups as threatening. However, they suggest that personal knowledge of 'Others' can help young people feel safer in public space because that knowledge can help to challenge the group and place based stereotypes. Therefore, as young people are confronted with other groups of young people in public space, their experiences of place are often impacted by which group or micro-territory they belong to and their knowledge about others (Travlou, 2004).

Young People's Agency and Creativity in Their Use of Space

As discussed previously, the controls set by adults suggest a one-way exchange, whereby adults set regulations and restrictions on young people's behaviour and activities and young people accept them. However research shows us that these mechanisms of authority and control are not one-way. Young people are not passive receivers of prescribed social roles and rules, but they have agency to figure out their place in their community and use public space as they wish (Vanderbeck & Dunkley, 2004). They are 'creative social thinkers and actors, capable of selecting and negotiating spaces, and competent in producing their own cultural meanings and practices' (Panelli et al., 2002b p. 110). They may actively resist and contest the boundaries that surround them and construct their own meanings and understandings about themselves and the places they live (Valentine, Skelton & Chambers, 1998; Nairn, Panelli & McCormack, 2003).

Young people have specific needs, wants and values that may be denied when they are restricted access to spaces. As a result, many may try to resist the regulations and controls placed on them by adults by employing different strategies when negotiating public space. These strategies can help young people achieve a sense of autonomy (Hil & Bessant, 1999). Some strategies young people use are the 'methods of avoidance', whereby young people select particular times or different locations to 'hang out' to avoid the attention of adults (Hil & Bessant, 1999 p. 46). For example, Woolley (2006) showed that young skateboarders who had spatial controls imposed on them found other locations and places where they could skate that satisfied their needs of accessibility, trickability, sociability and compatibility. In other instances, skaters have talked about how they try not to spend a long time in a single site, but frequently find new sites to skate to avoid being moved on (Woolley & Johns, 2001). Other young people stay put and try to deal with the confrontations by modifying their behaviour or presenting a socially acceptable persona. Some young people choose to spend their time in adult sponsored venues, such as youth clubs, while others define and make new places. Such strategies highlight ways young people escape 'adult surveillance', 'the adult gaze', and 'adult hegemony' (Vanderstede, 2011 p. 168). They also emphasise the heterogeneity and agency of young people; while challenging the hegemonic discourse of youth as the 'excluded Other,' because as they create places of significance and show they are not fully excluded (Panelli et al., 2002b p. 109).

Roberts (2000) explored how young people resist the restrictions imposed on them by making places for themselves. He argues that place making is vital to the personal development of young people and they create places to meet their needs. Young people create places where the sense of control from adults is reduced and their sense of freedom is increased. He identified three different processes young people use to make places. Firstly, *physical separation*, whereby young people use sites where adult control is low and adults are rarely present. In these places, young people are in control and are free from adult surveillance and rules. Here they can easily hide their activities from adults and take time out. In the study, young people used separation to conceal activities such as alcohol consumption, smoking of drugs and sexual activity from adults but also to get space from

others so they could relax, write in their journal or listen to music. *Social distancing* is another process used in place making. In this process adults are in the same space as young people but young people distance themselves from adults so that they have more freedom and independence. In the study, 'young people meeting in malls' is used to exemplify social distancing. Young people meet in malls to hang out, window shop, and talk while adults run businesses, shop or pass through. While young people share space with adults they fill those spaces with different relationships and activities and give it different meanings. The final and least common process is *reinforcing*. This involves young people participating in activities that adults expect to occur in the certain location, for example attending sports games, going to church, shopping with parents. Here, young people conform to the behaviour expectations of adults and engage in activities with adults. Across these processes we see the different power relations that can exist for young people as they encounter public space and create their own places. These places can assist young people to 'negotiate their identity and exercise power' and access a world that they are constantly excluded from (Roberts, 2000 p. 21).

Young people may also demonstrate their agency through the rules they develop and use to negotiate their neighbourhoods. Cahill (2000) develops the idea of 'street literacy' which refers to the informal local knowledge that develops from personal experiences and is passed down in the form of rules, boundaries set by parents, neighbourhood folklore, and kids' collective wisdom' (p. 252). She suggests that young people develop their own set of practices and rules to negotiate their neighbourhood (which is one way they make space theirs). In her study, young people living in the Lower East Side of Manhattan, in neighbourhoods with crime and drug problems, created a 'mind your business' rule as a way to negotiate and keep out of danger. This shows how young people develop a deep understanding of their local environments and practices to negotiate spaces through their daily experiences of places.

As a result of the contestation of public space and these strategies, young people may end up using places, particularly public spaces, differently from other people (Roberts, 2000). They often use

public space in ways that do not conform to adult expectations (Sibley, 1995). For example, Matthews, Limb and Percy-Smith (1998) write:

‘Through their developing environmental transactions young teenagers frequently come into contact with places in ways not envisaged by adults. For example, children’s play areas become convenient places where groups could hang out during the evening away from adult gaze...Because these teenagers were developing their own and alternative patterns of land use, places were used in ways not anticipated by adults and this led to frequent clashes.’

(p. 195)

Young people ‘carve out their own cultural crevices, and create their own social fissures’ in the forgotten spaces of the adult world (Matthews, 2003 p. 106). These forgotten spaces include places such as roads, cul-de-sacs, alleyways, walkways, shopping areas, car parks, vacant plots and derelict sites (Matthews, Limb & Taylor, 2000). Public spaces act as ‘marginal space for young people, a place they occupy by default, as they lack the power to control other places’ (Matthews, Limb & Taylor, 2000 p. 71). Lieberg (1995) develops this by describing how ‘teenagers have no obvious right to spaces of their own. They often have nowhere to go except public spaces’ (p. 720). However as young people negotiate these environments and develop alternative uses of places, these places become embedded with meaning (Cattell et al., 2008). Such places are transformed from ‘just appendages of the adult world’ into ‘special places created by [young people] and invested with their own values’ (Matthews, Limb & Percy-Smith, 1998 p. 193). These special places become places away from authority, places to be with friends, and places for adventure or solitude (Hopkins, 2010).

Public space is an important social venue where young people can come together and hang out away from adult surveillance. Many authors argue that one of the main reasons young people choose to use public spaces is because it is one place where they can socialise with their friends outside of school and home (e.g. Matthews, Limb and Taylor, 2000; Cattell et al., 2008; Hopkins, 2010). Mason and Korpela (2008) found that the social dimensions of a place made locations important and safe

places for young people because hanging out with friends is a vital part of their everyday lives. Friendships 'provide a range of emotional and social support and are also major sources of knowledge and understanding' (Hill et al., 2007 p. 17). Social interaction is an important developmental need among young people (Clark & Uzzell, 2002). It is also considered a protective factor for young people as it helps them feel connected and also enhances their well-being (Jose & Pryor, 2010).

Research also shows that young people from different genders, ages and socioeconomic backgrounds use it in different ways. For example, Matthews, Limb and Taylor (2000) discovered that boys and girls use public space in different ways. Girls reported talking and chatting with friends as the main activity, whereas for boys it was a venue for informal sports such as football or skateboarding. Additionally, Matthews (2003) found that young people of different ages used public space differently. He identified that for 11 year olds, public space was used for games, play and adventures. But by the age of 13, public space became a 'social haven' where young people could meet up and hang out with friends (p. 104). Day and Wager (2010) also discovered that young people from less affluent households used public space much more than young people from more affluent backgrounds. Young people from lower income households used public space for hanging out and other leisure activities. Whereas for young people from more affluent backgrounds who also took part in organised activities like sport, public space was one of many settings where they could spend time with friends and take part in leisure activities. While public space can be used differently, it remains a place where young people can hang out and develop some of their closest connections. As a result forgotten spaces become important social and cultural places for young people where they can develop their own identities (Matthews, Limb & Taylor, 2000).

It is important to reiterate that there is diversity and heterogeneity of experience within the youth category. So while the emphasis of this section has been on the resistance of young people, it is important to note that this often causes us to overlook the 'young people who conform in many

ways to social expectations' (Valentine, Skelton & Chambers, 1998 p. 24). However, there is little research that has considered these young people, for example those who perform well at school, have positive relationships with adults and parents, or who take part in a range of different activities without being considered a nuisance or threat, but who may also face different pressures such as social, economic, cultural and/or educational issues.

Emotional Dimensions of Young People's Experiences

Emotions form a part of young people's experiences in places. However to date, there has been very little research that considers the emotional experiences of young people in public space. There is some research that looks at some of the emotions that arise as young people negotiate and use the environments in which they live, but this has typically only focused on the sense of exclusion, inclusion and belonging that young people feel in their local area (e.g. Nairn, Panelli & McCormack, 2003). It is hoped that this thesis will supplement the literature surrounding young people's emotional experiences of public space by considering a greater range of emotions, both positive and negative. The intent is to develop a fuller picture of young people's emotional relationships and interactions with their local environment.

As young people negotiate the socio-spatial relations that influence their access, use and experiences of public space, emotions emerge that become part of their lived experiences of place (Bondi, Davidson & Smith, 2005). A range of emotions, for example, feelings of exclusion, inclusion, belonging, isolation and anger, can emerge as young people negotiate the discursive and physical environments in their local area (e.g. Panelli et al., 2002b). These emotional relationships with place, in turn, contribute to young peoples' sense of local belonging and identity (den Besten, 2010). This section will investigate the literature that has considered the emotions that arise from young people's experiences in public spaces.

Young people's emotional experiences of public space are often contradictory and ambiguous. Reay and Lucey (2000) explored the experiences of children living on inner London council estates. They

found that the majority of children held conflicting feelings about the places they lived; as one participant noted 'I don't really like it here but I don't want to be anywhere else' (p. 424), which came from their feelings of exclusion and inclusion. Vanderbeck and Dunkley (2004) explain that young people's lived experiences of places are structured by exclusionary and inclusionary practices. Nairn, Panelli and McCormack (2003) described how young people's experiences of public space in rural and urban settings were both inclusive and exclusive. Inclusion was associated with a range of spaces that provided a sense of comfort and/or familiarity with other young people. The social aspect of a place was a key factor for many young people. In comparison, young people in the study also reported feelings of exclusion in places. Compared to the way that much of the literature presents the exclusion of young people from public space, relatively few young people felt completely excluded from public space. But many recalled instances when they felt excluded. In these instances it was the social relations and meanings shaped by adults and other young people that created places of exclusion.

Feelings of belonging and being connected are also important emotional dimensions of young people's experiences of places. Rose (1995) argues that feelings of belonging represent one way in which people's identity and experiences are connected to place. She suggests that it can occur across different scales, for example the domestic home (although this is not always a positive place for people), local scale, regional scale or national scale. In their research, Blunt and Dowling (2006) demonstrate how the home place is frequently represented as a set of emotional meaning like permanence, rootedness, safety and continuity. At another scale, community can also offer people opportunities to develop a sense of belonging and experience positive emotions like trust and safety (Cuba & Hummon, 1993). However, this is not always the case for all people. For some, the idealised conceptions of home and community do not match their lived experiences (Mallett, 2004). For those who experience violence and abuse, or are made to feel as though they do not belong in the home and community environments, those places often take on negative meanings and evoke feelings of fear, isolation and oppression (Rose, 1993). When young people feel disconnected or like they do not

belong in different places this may lead to negative outcomes. Atwool (2002) describes how the alarming youth statistics, such as teen suicide, self-harm, and substance abuse, can be seen as symptoms that young people feel disconnected from their families and/or community, and society.

Supportive Places

Having discussed how young people can feel in place or out of place and how they might use places in different ways to create feelings of belonging and inclusion, I finally want to look at two bodies of work which help us further understand young people's experiences of places in more detail. The first of these is the notion of therapeutic landscapes from health geography, and the second is work on enabling places.

The term 'therapeutic landscape' was developed within health geography to understand the relationship between health and place. It was first used to describe how people sought healing from specific locations. However, over time the concept has been broadened to consider how the different aspects of places, such as the physical, social and symbolic environments, contribute to the health and well-being of people (Gesler, 2009). These environments include natural features, human construction, symbolic features and an atmosphere in which social distance and social inequalities are kept to a minimum (Kearns & Gesler, 1998). As people experience places and the different aspects of place, sometimes positive meanings like warmth, identity, rootedness and authenticity are given to a location (Kearns & Gesler, 1998). As a result, places associated with positive meanings become important for the person as they contribute to their well-being. From this, the concept of therapeutic landscapes offers a useful framework for understanding the different aspects that people, including young people, may encounter as they experience places (i.e. the different dimensions of place: physical, social and symbolic).

Work on enabling places also helps us to further understand people's experiences in place. The concept of enabling places was developed to extend the discussion of the relationship between place

and health promotion (Duff, 2011). The term draws on work from therapeutic landscapes, restorative places and enabling environments to better understand how the material, social, and affective dimensions of places contribute to people's experiences of places. These dimensions of places are considered to both define places but also be a product of it. The dimensions of places are also considered the enabling resources of places and can generate resources or benefits for people that promote health. For example, the social resources of a place may include the social capital (for example, trust relationships and mutual support) that is present. This dimension of place becomes enabling as it enhances a person's sense of belonging, satisfaction, and personal safety and security. However, in saying this, the enabling resources of places are not always experienced or encountered the same way by everyone. As a result 'certain places may be enabling only for fleeting moments and only in relation to certain encounters, while some generate more mixed effects just as others facilitate enabling experiences over longer durations...' (Duff, 2011 p. 155).

Drawing on work from both the therapeutic landscapes and enabling places research, I suggest the terms supportive and unsupportive places as metaconcepts to think about and understand young people's experiences in places in more detail. Table 1 outlines these concepts. Supportive places are those where young people have positive place experiences, for example, experiencing feelings of safety, belonging or happiness. They are places that enable supportive place behaviours or encourage young people to do activities or things that they enjoy, such as hanging out with friends, walking, listening to music, or smoking. These behaviours are often interpreted differently by different groups, for example, smoking may be something some young people enjoy doing, while some adults and other young people may view smoking as a bad behaviour. Therefore, the behaviours that take place in supportive places cannot be definitively categorised as positive because they are interpreted differently by different people. As a result, the term 'supportive place behaviours' refer to the behaviours that young people do in supportive places that they enjoy, rather than describing the nature of the behaviour.

In contrast, unsupportive places are those where young people have negative place experiences, for example, experiencing feelings of exclusion, sadness or fear. They are places that do not enable, or only intermittently enable young people to do activities or things they want to do or enjoy.

Additionally, they enable unsupportive place behaviours such as graffiti and tagging. Similar to supportive place behaviours, the term 'unsupportive place behaviours' refers to the behaviour that takes place in unsupportive places. These behaviours also cannot be definitively categorised as negative because they are interpreted differently by different people, for example graffiti may be seen as negative by some, but for the young people doing it, it may be a fun activity.

Table 1 Summary of Supportive and Unsupportive Places

Supportive Places	Unsupportive Places
Positive place experience	Negative place experience
Enables supportive place behaviours (i.e. things young people want to do and enjoy)	Does not enable, or only intermittently enables young people to do things they want or enjoy AND/OR enables unsupportive place behaviours
NB: Places are not inherently either supportive or unsupportive for everyone but become supportive or unsupportive as people interact in and experience them.	

Conclusion

Young people's experiences of discursive and physical dimensions of place are diverse and complex.

They frequently experience being out of place, restrictions and regulations, negative attitudes, and marginalisation. But amidst this they can also have and share experiences of belonging,

independence and identity formation as they find and create new places to hang out. However, we cannot assume that all youth share these experiences, because youth do not exist as a single group.

As part of young people's experiences it is also important to acknowledge the emotions that are evoked for young people as they negotiate their environments. While research in this area is still fairly sparse, it is important to understand the role of emotions in young people's use and experience of their environment. It is hoped that this thesis will shed some light on this area. This chapter has

investigated many different experiences of young people and has demonstrated the importance of understanding what is happening in young people's lives, where they go and why.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

Introduction

This chapter will introduce and describe the research strategy and methodological techniques used in this project. It will situate the thesis amongst existing trends in youth research and will outline the scope and limitations of the research design. I will discuss the changing approaches to youth research that informed this thesis which include participatory approaches that recognise the agency and competency of young people as active rather than passive participants in the research process.

The study used a mixed method approach, combining quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis. A range of different techniques, including media analysis, interviews with key informants, surveys and a photovoice activity were employed. The photovoice activity was in keeping with a participatory approach that sought to involve young people in the research, recognising both their competency and detailed knowledge of the places in which they live. The mixed methods approach is common in youth geographies research and 'allows a deeper understanding of how teenagers use, interpret and negotiate their neighbourhood' (Cahill, 2000 p. 257). The fieldwork was conducted in Kaiapoi between August 2013 and November 2013.

This chapter is divided into four sections. In the first section I describe the changing approaches to youth research and the move towards participatory and youth-centred approaches. I situate my research in relation to these different approaches. I then outline some of the key ethical issues that can arise when conducting research with young people. It details how I approached informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality when working with young people from Kaiapoi. In the third section I describe the different methods used for collecting data and some of the associated practical issues, as well as data analysis techniques I employed. This section concludes with a short description of the demographic information of the young people who participated in the survey and photovoice

activity. Finally, I consider the influence of positionality and intersubjectivity in the research, and their impacts on the research dynamics and the information that was shared.

The Changing Approaches in Youth Research

Historically, within social research, children and young people have historically seldom been the focus of enquiry (James, 1990). This was because they were often viewed as incompetent or unreliable, and research was therefore to be carried out *on* or *for* them rather than *with* them (Barker & Weller, 2003a; Hill et al., 1996). As a result, children and young people 'rarely had the opportunity to speak for themselves in research' (Barker & Weller, 2003b p. 208). Therefore, research involving children and young people often perpetuated the unequal power relations inherent to their lives. For example, children and young people were seldom invited to provide their own consent to participate in research, with the enquiry typically directed to their parents or teachers, who were asked to provide consent on their behalf. Additionally, the topics of enquiry were often decided by adults based on their agendas, rather than giving children and young people opportunities to offer input (Christensen & James, 2008).

In more recent times, there has been a growing recognition of the competency and agency of children and young people within research. This stems from the increasing acknowledgement that young people are 'not simply passive objects dependent on adults, but are competent social actors that make sense of and actively contribute to their environment' (Barker & Weller, 2003b p. 207). In this sense, young people have a specific knowledge and set of understandings about the places in which they live, that are important to understand if we are to fully understand places (Panelli et al., 2002b). This awareness within both geographical and social science research has had significant implications for the methodologies adopted when researching young people, and has led to an emphasis on participatory and youth-centred approaches. These approaches often utilise methods that enable young people to represent and communicate their experiences of the specific places

under study, such as drawings, photographs and diaries (e.g. den Besten, 2010; Nairn, Panelli & McCormack 2003; Trell & van Hoven, 2010; Young & Barrett, 2001a).

Participatory and youth-centred approaches attempt to address the well documented power imbalance between the researcher and the researched (see Matthews, Limb & Taylor, 1998). The methods used within these approaches allow young people to become active researchers, collecting data on their own terms (Young & Barrett, 2001b). This creates more equality within the research relationship and is thought to lead to a more meaningful and valid set of representations of places young people experience.

In light of this, this project aimed to use a method that recognised the agency and competency of young people. The photovoice activity (that will be discussed in detail later in the chapter) allowed young people to be active in the research process and share their experiences as they took photographs of different places in Kaiapoi. While this did seem to create some equality within the research relationship, there were other factors, namely knowing many of participants prior to the activity, that impacted the research relationship. These are discussed in detail at the end of the chapter.

Ethical Issues in Youth Research

Research exploring the lives and experiences of young people require the careful consideration of the ethical issues that may arise. I therefore wish to briefly explore some of the ethical issues that influenced this project.

Informed Consent

One of the most common ethical considerations in research is gaining informed consent from participants. Within the context of youth research, because participants are often considered to not be legally competent to give consent themselves, the process of gaining consent is complicated. For the most part, researchers seek to gain informed *assent* from the young person in addition to gaining

consent from their parent or guardian (Greig, Taylor & MacKay, 2007). This involves the young person and their parent/guardian being made aware of the research and what participation would mean. This is often achieved through an information and consent form. This process of obtaining informed consent from parent/guardians can then be considered an 'opt-in' approach, whereby parents/guardians are opting their teenager into the research. This approach has been used widely within research involving young people across many disciplines (e.g. Bass & Lambert, 2004; Brown & Grumet, 2009; Day & Wager, 2010; Taylor & Khan, 2011).

Some youth research undertaken in New Zealand has sought informed consent in other ways. In Clark et al.'s (2013) study of health and wellbeing amongst secondary school pupils in Auckland, for example, it was assumed that young people were competent and able to decide to take part in the project themselves. If parents or guardians did not want their son or daughter taking part in the project, they were advised via an information sheet to contact the school to have their child taken off the sample list. Effectively, this placed parents in the position of having to 'opt out' rather than 'opt in' for their dependents/children. Kelly and Halford (2007) argue that this type of passive parental consent may help to overcome some of the practical issues with active or opt-in processes, for example lower recruitment rates. Lower recruitment rates can arise from an 'opt in' approach as some children or young people may forget to give the consent form to their parents, or they may lose it. Additionally, some parents may be too busy or forget to sign the consent form. As a result, it is often difficult to ensure that every parent/guardian reads the information sheet for their child and so university ethics committees will often only approve this approach to securing informed consent for low-risk research, such as surveys and other methods in which the anonymity of participants can be ensured (Kelly & Halford, 2007).

Additionally, there are other instances where researchers have argued that young people should be able to provide their own consent without requiring parental consent (e.g. Nairn, Panelli & McCormack, 2003; Panelli et al., 2002b). In these studies, Nairn, Panelli and McCormack (2003) and

Panelli et al., (2002b) argued that obtaining parental consent was not necessary, as young people were seen as competent and autonomous research subjects. However, while this approach challenging the more traditional methods used for obtaining consent, Heath et al. (2007) argue that the consent practices used within research continue to go largely unchallenged by researchers. As a result, the agency of young people to opt in and out of research on their own behalf remains a radical and infrequently used approach for obtaining consent.

This research project explicitly seeks to recognise the agency and competency of young people through the consent process, but also to ensure that there was safety for both the participants and myself. To this end, I chose to use a combination of the opt-in and opt-out approaches for the different methods in the project. These will be discussed in more detail in the next section, Data Collection.

Anonymity and Confidentiality

Another ethical challenge within youth research is anonymity and confidentiality. It is common to offer participants anonymity in social research (Heath et al., 2009), as this protects their identities. Confidentiality refers to the treatment of the information that is shared by the participant. It is about treating that information sensitively and not circulating it. Therefore confidentiality and anonymity are both important whereby the details of participants' circumstances or the information they shared may be published, but the identity of the person to whom the circumstances or information relates to is kept hidden. In a sense, the participant remains anonymous. However, in circumstances where the individual participant wants their own name reported it becomes problematic, particularly in youth research.

Researchers therefore need to reflect on the advantages and disadvantages of allowing young people to use their real names. There were two main reasons why I had to do this in my research context. First, Kaiapoi is a small town, with a relatively small youth population, and the likelihood of young people being recognised by their real names was therefore quite high. Also because some of my

participants were recruited via snowballing from friends who had taken part in the project, it was important to maintain the confidentiality of all the young people who took part. For these reasons, I used pseudonyms (that some of the young people chose or were assigned) as an alternative to their real names, so as to ensure that confidentiality was maintained.

Portraying Young People

Finally, another ethical challenge in youth research is the way in which the research depicts and portrays young people (Walsh, Black & Berman, 2013). It is important for research that explores the experiences and identities of young people to not contribute to or perpetuate the essentialised discourses about young people. For example, research that perpetuates the discourse 'youth at risk', may contribute to policies being created, such as curfews or bans, that aim to keep young people safe in public spaces.

It is important for researchers to consider this right across the research process. First, by selecting an appropriate methodology that acknowledges the competency and agency of young people. Then it is important that researcher reflects on how the research findings will portray young people's lives and selves (Walsh, Black & Berman, 2013). It is also important not to fall into the tendency of portraying young people as a homogenous group, but instead to allow the diversity of experience to be demonstrated (Wyn & White, 1997). Therefore, throughout the development and research process for this project, I attempted to continue to acknowledge the competency, agency and diversity of young people in Kaiapoi through the different methods used and in the writing up of the results.

Data Collection

Given its twin focus on (a) how adults in Kaiapoi construct and view young people and (b) how young people view each other and use places within Kaiapoi, the research was conducted in two parts, using a range of different methods. The first part involved analysing local media articles about young people in Kaiapoi and conducting semi-structured interviews with adult key informants who worked

with young people. It was hoped that this combination of methods would allow for a richer and more-informed understanding of the views held by adults. The second part included young people completing a surveying and taking part in a photography activity called photovoice. The survey was used to examine the perceptions and discourses that young people have about Kaiapoi and young people in the town. Secondly, the photovoice activity was used to understand the different ways that young people use and feel about the Kaiapoi town environment. In using these methods, it was hoped that this project would help to illustrate the different ways that young people perceive and use different places in Kaiapoi, which in turn may help to challenge the common assumption that 'all youth are the same'. It was also hoped that this research would support the growing recognition within youth research that young people are cultural producers of knowledge (Panelli et al., 2002b). Human Ethics Committee approval was sought before the beginning of the research (see Appendix A).

Exploring Adult Constructions of Young People in Kaiapoi

As mentioned earlier in the Introduction chapter, I am a youth leader at a local faith-based youth group in Kaiapoi. From this I have developed an interest in the wellbeing and lives of young people in the town. As a member of the Kaiapoi community, I was able to draw on many of my contacts to recruit adult and young people for this project. The dynamic of encounters as an insider are discussed later on.

Media Articles

Part of understanding the discourses of young people in Kaiapoi held by adults required the collection and analysis of local print media. The media has often had a role in creating and perpetuating constructions associated with young people, particularly those using public space. Given that most media articles are written by adults, the perceptions and ideas within them can reasonably be examined as adult constructions of young people.

For this project, I collected articles from two Canterbury based newspapers – *The Press* (the daily paper for Christchurch city and the Canterbury region) and the *Northern Outlook* (a biweekly community newspaper for the Waimakariri and Hurunui Districts) – that had been published between 1998 and 2013 and which in some way referred to Kaiapoi young people. A set of 38 articles were collected which included, for example, interest stories about young people's successes, articles about young people's behaviour and alcohol, and youth crime in Kaiapoi. The articles were analysed using a thematic analysis process which will be discussed later on in the chapter.

Key Informant Interviews

I also conducted interviews with adult key informants in the Kaiapoi community. Using a purposive sampling method, ten adult key informants from a range of different professions were recruited. The group comprised of the local Youth Aid officer, the Youth Brief Intervention Co-Ordinator for the Waimakariri, a youth pastor from Kaiapoi Baptist Church, a youth worker from the local high school, a teacher and the deputy principal from Kaiapoi High School, a teacher from the alternative education program in Kaiapoi, a social worker from Wellbeing North Canterbury, a Waimakariri District Council member responsible for youth development, and a community volunteer with a passion for Kaiapoi's young people. Each adult key informant took part in a semi-structured interview. An interview schedule was developed to explore how they and the wider adult population perceive and view young people in Kaiapoi and elicit further information about the issues young people face in Kaiapoi (see Appendix B). It was hoped the key informants would have insight into the ways in which other adults in Kaiapoi construct young people but also be aware of how those views are often problematic and unrepresentative. Before the interviews, informants were given an information sheet and consent form to sign (see Appendices C & D). The interviews were conducted at the key informants' workplaces and took between 20-30minutes.

Exploring Young People's Construction of Each Other and Their Use of Places

Survey

Surveys were completed by young people, who lived in Kaiapoi, at the local high school and a faith-based youth group. At Kaiapoi High School, the principal selected five classes from Year 9-13 to take part in the survey during class time. Allowing the principal to select the classes taking part in the survey gave the research a degree of official endorsement, validation within the school environment, and helped to minimise disruption or perceived intrusion. However, I did receive the top academic class from Year 9 and 10. Whether the principal did that on purpose, because he thought those kids would behave better or because it worked better with the timetable, it is important to acknowledge that these classes often have young people who work hard at school and have fewer difficulties. This meant that while I did get a good response to the survey from Year 9 and 10 classes, I also missed out on the views from young people in other junior classes.

Another issue with the recruitment process at the high school was that not everyone within each class lived in Kaiapoi. Some young people who had never lived or spent time in Kaiapoi aside from school did not complete the survey, while others who did not live in Kaiapoi but spent a lot of time in the town took part. Additionally, some young people who had recently moved out of Kaiapoi because of the earthquakes and subsequent issues opted to be involved. This was overcome with a question in the survey about length of residence in Kaiapoi, where those who had not lived in Kaiapoi put zero years, while those who had recently moved out of the area counted the years they had spent in Kaiapoi prior to moving.

The survey included open, closed and multiple response questions that explored young people's perspectives on living and being a teenager in Kaiapoi, their behaviours and activities, how they define themselves, how they think adults see them, and how they want adults to think about and

see them (see Appendix E). It was designed to predominantly be an exploratory tool to elicit information about young people's views that could be utilised in discussions with young people and adults in the interviews. In saying that, some of the results from the survey are discussed in the following findings chapters. The survey took between 15-25 minutes to complete.

As this research explicitly sought to recognise the agency and competency of young people; I adopted an appropriate consent process for the survey. An opt-out approach was used, whereby young people were able give their own consent by volunteering to take part in the survey or not, but if parents did not want their teenager to be a part of the research they could ask for their child not to be involved. I was given a list of names of the young people in each of the classes to ensure that I could mark off who received an information sheet and who was opted-out of the survey. Due to the anonymous nature of this type of data gathering, this was deemed the most appropriate and efficient way of obtaining consent. This opt-out process has also been used in other youth research, based around surveys, in New Zealand (e.g. Clark et al., 2013). Two weeks prior to completing the survey an advertisement was put into the school newsletter informing parents that the survey would be taking place at the school and that one class from each year group was taking part. Additionally, young people in the selected classes received an information sheet to be taken home for a parent/guardian to read, outlining the purposes and aims of the research, the topics addressed in the survey and the researchers contact details (see Appendix F). The information sheet also explained the consent process.

Beyond the high school, young people were also recruited for the survey through a local faith-based youth group. This group is one of the very few youth groups, aside from sports teams, that exist in Kaiapoi at present and access to it allowed me to survey young people who may live in Kaiapoi but go to a high school outside of Kaiapoi. In this context, an information sheet was given to the young people who were eligible to take part in the survey to take home to

their parents/guardians two weeks before the survey was going to be completed at the youth group (see Appendix F). The same opt-out consent process was used.

Overall 120 young people completed the survey, with 100 of them being Kaiapoi residents. One hundred and eight young people were recruited from the high school, comprising largely of Year 9, 10 and 11 (13-15 year olds). An additional twelve young people of different ages were recruited from the youth group. While this sample size will not be statistically generalisable to all young people in Kaiapoi, it will provide some important insights into young people's lives in Kaiapoi.

Photovoice Activity

Twenty young people took part in the photovoice activity. Eleven young people were recruited from the local faith-based youth group. I also approached a youth group, WAIYouth, associated with the Waimakariri District Council, where four young people were recruited. Other young people were recruited via a snowball method, whereby young people who had completed the activity would help recruit their friends or in some cases some of the adults I had interviewed put me in touch with different young people to talk to. This method of recruitment was effective in overcoming the issue of there being very few formal and informal youth organisations/groups in Kaiapoi to approach to gain participants.

The photovoice method aimed to use photography as a way to empower participants by encouraging them to be active in the research (Strack, Magill & McDonagh, 2004). The use of photography also allowed for the self-representation from a group who may have found it difficult to fully articulate or express their thoughts or feelings through a solely verbal explanation (Thomas, 2009). Instead, the photographs had the potential to 'bridge the communication difficulties' by acting as prompts, or by having specific aspects to talk about in the photographs (Bijoux & Myers, 2006). Therefore it had great potential as a method for better understanding the everyday experiences of young people and as a way to empower them in the

research process, by making them active researchers. In this project, young people took photographs of eight places in Kaiapoi that elicited different emotions for them, including:

- their favourite place in Kaiapoi;
- places that made them feel happy, sad, welcomed, excluded, safe, and like they belong;
- a place in Kaiapoi that they had started using/visiting since the earthquakes.

This activity aimed to identify some of the ways in which young people in Kaiapoi use the town's environment, their experiences in different places and the emotions and meanings that arise from these experiences and interactions with places and people. This activity was particularly important because it recognises that the young people create their own meanings and understandings of place and gives them the opportunity to express these (Thomson, 2008).

There was an initial meeting where I explained the activity to them and gave young people an outline of the activity, information sheets, individual consent form, and parental/guardian consent form to give their parents/guardians (see Appendices G, H, I, J & K). Following this, young people were given two weeks to take their photographs, using their smartphones or family camera.

This method also required obtaining consent from parents/guardians. However the information gathered from the activity was not anonymous, the activity took longer, it occurred outside of school time and it required me to meet with the young person, which meant a different consent process was used. For this activity, I used an opt-in approach whereby young people who were interested in taking part were required to get their parents/guardians to provide their consent before they could take part in the activity. Young people were also given a consent form for them to sign themselves. This approach recognises that although young people are competent members of society, when a method has the potential to elicit more personal information and emotions it is important to involve parents/guardians in the consent process.

There were two ways in which the photovoice activity and follow-up interview were conducted; the go-along approach and the post-interview approach. The go-along approach involved me accompanying some young people and asking them questions as they took photographs. This provided important insights into the ways in which young people access the Kaiapoi environment by walking around, skating or scootering and how they use the different places. I recorded their responses in a notebook, rather than audio-recording, as to not disrupt the informality of the exchange. However after a few of these excursions, some young people completed a more formal interview, where I asked them a few more questions about their photographs. These interviews were audio-recorded. The activity was also conducted via a post-interview approach. This approach involved young people taking part in a follow-up interview and discussing their photographs after they had completed the activity. This was important for understanding the meaning, significance and reasons for taking each photograph. Many of the interviews took place at Kaiapoi Baptist Church given that a large number of the young people involved had some connection to that place; however others took place at the local cafe. The interviews were directed by a few guiding questions, where young people were asked to explain why they chose certain places to photograph, what they did in those places, who they went to those places with, and what those places meant to them.

Data Analysis

Given the range of different methods used in this project, both qualitative and quantitative analysis techniques were required in order to more fully understand the research environment. These include the qualitative analysis of media articles, photographs and interviews transcripts with adults and young people and the quantitative analysis of the survey data.

Analysis of Media Articles

Media articles were compiled and coded into a number of different themes such as achievements of young people, young people and crime, young people as victims, interest stories and young people's

behaviour and alcohol. This made it possible to identify the more relevant articles for further analysis. Articles that referred to young people in public spaces within Kaiapoi were then summarised and coded. This helped to draw out the discursive themes that make up many of the (predominantly negative) constructions being of young people within the newspapers. This was the same process used by Panelli et al. (2002a).

Analysis of Key Informant Interviews

The interviews with adult key informants were audio recorded and then transcribed in Microsoft Word. The transcripts were sent to participants for review. In doing this, I intended to overcome the occasional lack of sound quality in the recording, quick or mumbled speech by the participant, and to ensure that the transcriptions accurately represented what the participants wanted to share. Allowing participants to review their transcripts helped to ensure the quality and integrity of the transcripts, as participants could clarify sections that had been hard to hear or edit in other ways sections if they wanted (Mero-Jaffe, 2011). Overall, the quality of the research materials was enhanced through this process of review. Once this was completed, the transcripts were coded using NVivo, a qualitative data analysis programme, which allowed for different themes and discourses to be drawn out.

Analysis of Survey

Data collected from the surveys was entered into SPSS, a statistical analysis programme. Simple descriptive analysis was used often to provide the frequency distribution for the different questions, and also to measure the central tendencies or means of different responses. Bivariate statistical analysis tests were also conducted to explore relationships between the different variables (for example, the relationship between the age of a young person and their attitude towards Kaiapoi).

Analysis of Photovoice

After receiving the photographs from participants, the photographs were edited. This involved blurring people, number plates from cars and letterbox numbers out to ensure that no identifiable information was present in the images. The photographs were then saved and categorised according to the place they represented. During this process, the pseudonym name of the photographer and their age was attached to the photograph for easy reference to the transcripts.

The interviews with young people were also audio recorded on a dictaphone. They were then transcribed in Microsoft Word. At the end of each interview, I offered to send a copy of the interview to the young person for them to have a read over and edit but no young people wanted to do that. I respected their wishes, but this meant that there was no review by the young people of their transcripts. I tried to overcome the possible lack of sound lacking or my misinterpretation of what they were saying by listening to the interviews twice more after transcribing. The transcripts were then coded using NVivo, and different themes were drawn out.

Demographics of Respondents

Table 2 draws on 2006 census data to describe some of the characteristics of the young people who took part in the survey and the photovoice activity, with comparisons to young people in Kaiapoi (defined by the combination of Camside, Kaiapoi North West, Kaiapoi North East, Kaiapoi South, Mansfield, Courtney, Kaiapoi West and Kaiapoi East) and young people in the wider Canterbury region. The table shows that within the youth population in Kaiapoi there are more younger teenagers and a fewer older teenagers than the Canterbury region. In comparison to the Kaiapoi and Canterbury areas, the photovoice participants had a greater proportion of female young people, while the survey participants had similar characteristics to the areas.

1 The most recent census data is from 2006 due to the 2011 New Zealand census being cancelled as a result of the February 2011 earthquake in Christchurch. This means comparisons between the sample and census data should be done with some care.

Table 2 Demographic information for survey and photovoice participants

Characteristics	Survey Participants (n=120)	Photovoice Participants (n=20)	Kaiapoi young people (2006 Census)	Canterbury young people (2006 Census)
Gender				
% Male	50	40	51.1	51.4
% Female	50	60	48.9	48.6
Age				
% 13 years old	18.3	10	55.1*	48.6*
% 14 years old	25.0	20		
% 15 years old	15.8	30	44.9**	51.4**
% 16 years old	21.7	10		
% 17 years old	15.0	15		
% 18 years old	4.2	10		
% 19 years old	0	5		
Ethnicity				
% New Zealand European	82.5	75	n/a	n/a
% Maori	16.7	10	n/a	n/a
% Other	14.9	15	n/a	n/a
*Census data groups ages together therefore the number represents the percentage of young people aged between 10-14 years.				
**Represents the percentage of young people aged between 15-19 years.				

Intersubjectivities and Positionality

It is important to acknowledge that the information collected during social research is often shaped by the interactions between those involved (Dowling, 2010). This means that the meanings, interpretations or knowledges of the world that are created are the result of interactions between different people in specific contexts (Dowling, 2010; Kobayashi, 2009). The personal characteristics and respective social positions of the researcher and participants' impact how they interact. This section will examine the ways in which my social position, as both an insider and outsider, impacted the interactions with research participants.

As mentioned above, being a member of the Kaiapoi community meant that I had insider status during much of my research. However there were times during the research process where, as a

white, female and university educated young adult, I was also an outsider. This oscillation between having insider and outsider status supports Dowling's assertion that a researcher is 'never simply an insider or an outsider' (Dowling, 2010 p. 36). For example, while I shared being a member of the Kaiapoi community in common with the young people in this project, I am not a teenager and therefore I probably do not share the same perspectives on the world or the same experiences. However, my young adult status may have helped make me similar enough to young people for me to be less of an outsider.

Initially being an insider helped me to establish a good rapport with many of the participants. This was particularly important for interviews with adult key informants and young people. I was able to use the shared connection to Kaiapoi or youth group to establish a good rapport with many of the participants. I was also able to draw on local knowledge about Kaiapoi and my experiences at university and working with young people at youth group to establish a good rapport with the adult participants. This was also helped by many of the adults who took part being passionate about the young people in Kaiapoi and being excited by my project. Having a degree of insider status was also useful for establishing a good rapport with the young people who took part in the photovoice activity. To a varying degree, my rapport with young people was established by my local knowledge about Kaiapoi and my experiences as a teenager growing up in Auckland.

Dowling (2010) suggests that being an insider, or gaining insider status facilitates the research process as people are more likely to talk freely to you. However, while being an insider did help me to access and recruit participants (Taylor, 2011), I felt the quality of the interview content was impacted by this status. For example, during the interviews many young people told me things about the places they had photographed that they thought I already knew or that I wanted to hear, such as, activities or events that took place at the youth group I volunteer at. Despite asking young people to elaborate, they often did not clearly articulate details or their feelings about places because they assumed that I already knew and, in some instances, felt foolish for repeating the details about

something we had both experienced. This demonstrates how having insider status or prior knowledge about a place, event or circumstance can be detrimental to data collection. Research shows that participants often make more of an effort to share details about places when the researcher is an outsider (England, 1994).

Being an insider can also be unhelpful as it can limit the interpretative ability of the researcher, as the familiarity created by being an insider may lead to the researcher unintentionally using their knowledge to make presumptions about what is being said (O'Connor, 2004). Therefore it was important throughout the data collection, analysis and interpretation that I was critically reflexive. As noted above, I reflected on how some of my interactions with young people were influenced by knowing them prior to the research. I attempted, where necessary and possible, to ask young people to elaborate on their responses to ensure that I did not make any presumptions about what they were sharing. Additionally in the writing up, it was important to remember that I wanted to capture the nuance and diversity of young people's lives and experiences in places. Therefore I attempted not to reproduce the essentialised discourses about young people and categorise them as a homogenous group.

Conclusion

Researching the constructions of young people in Kaiapoi along with the ways in which young people use the town's environments requires a mixed method approach. By utilising media analysis, adult key informant interviews, surveys and the photovoice activity I have attempted to ensure that there was quality of information and also that this project supported the growing recognition of seeing young people as competent and able individuals who should be actively included in research. By using different consent processes and the photovoice activity I have to some degree achieved this by empowering young people to firstly, choose their level of involvement and secondly, become active researchers during their involvement in this part of the project. While I did face some issues which

have been noted above, I believe that the methodology adopted during this project allowed for ethical, empowering and creative research to happen.

Chapter 4: Constructions of Young People in Kaiapoi

Introduction

The discursive environment of places is the collection of ideas and understandings or discourses that people have and share about those places, other people or things. Within Kaiapoi, part of the discursive environment is made up of a number of understandings and constructions of young people created and held by different groups, including the media, adults and young people. As a result, young people encounter a range of different discourses in Kaiapoi.

The aim of this chapter is to give the reader an insight into the discursive environment that young people encounter as they live their lives. The findings of this study are divided into two chapters. This first chapter considers the different ways that young people in Kaiapoi are constructed by the media, adults and young people. It begins by presenting and describing the different ways young people are constructed by local media. I then explore the constructions held by different adults, namely those who work with young people and those who do not. In doing this, the complexity of young people's identities, which is increasingly being realised in academic literature, is revealed. I also discuss how young people discursively construct one another. I conclude by considering the ways in which these different constructions intersect and I explore the power relations that influence the circulation of different ideas and the construction of knowledge about young people in Kaiapoi.

Media Constructions

Local media plays a vital role in the circulation of ideas about young people within the public realm. Journalists and editors produce and reproduce these portrayals of young people. The ideas or constructions of young people within media are often negative. As a result, the construction and representation of young people within the media can often influence people's understandings. This section will examine some of the dominant constructions of young people that arose from the media

analysis of articles taken from *The Press* and the *Northern Outlook*. The discussion will begin by considering some of the key portrayals of young people in both papers.

Table 3 presents the main themes associated with young people in the selected newspaper articles. These themes included the achievements of young people (for example, a Kaiapoi young person competing at the 2010 Youth Olympics, or two young people from Kaiapoi winning the 48 Hour Film Festival), young people as offenders, trouble makers and vandals, young people as victims of violence, young people and crime, young people's behaviour and alcohol, young people's positive contributions to the community, school/education related stories, and interest stories including young people. The themes show how young people in Kaiapoi are represented both positively and negatively. However, closer analysis revealed that the articles that reported on the achievements of young people often noted a specific individual or small group of young people (for example, the Kaiapoi High School Stage Challenge team's success). In contrast, articles about young people as offenders or nuisances in public spaces frequently spoke more generally of young people. This may have been in part because of name suppression rights for young offenders. However, it meant that while these articles were about a specific incident involving a particular group of young people, the language often used in these articles often allowed the representations to be generalised to a wider group of young people.

Table 3 Common themes associated with young people in Kaiapoi in *The Press* and the *Northern Outlook*, 1998-2013 N=38

Themes	Number of items
Young people as victims of violence	5
Achievements of young people	7
Young people's positive contributions to the community	5
Young people as offenders, trouble makers and vandals	6
Young people and crime	8
Young people's behaviour and alcohol	3
School/education related stories	2
Interest stories including young people	2

This project was concerned with Kaiapoi young people in public space; therefore news articles on this topic were further analysed to gain more insight into the construction of young people in Kaiapoi. Of the 38 articles, 18 referred to young people's behaviour and/or activities in public space. The content of these articles included behaviours such as drinking, tagging, trespassing, theft, burglaries, fighting, driving and vandalism. On closer analysis, young people's behaviours/activities were categorised into five common constructions: drunkenness, disorder, crime, victims in public space and positive contributors to the community (Table 4). These constructions are very similar to those identified in Panelli et al.'s (2002a) work on the discursive construction of young people in Dunedin. However, the construction of young people as positive contributors to the community was not identified in their work. As a result of these accounts, the knowledges about young people in Kaiapoi that circulate in public are frequently negative in nature.

Table 4 Dominant media constructions of Kaiapoi young people in public space, *The Press* and the *Northern Outlook*, 1998-2013

Dominant constructions	Number of articles	Examples in articles
Crime	8	Theft, breaching earthquake cordons, attacking people, burglaries, arson
Disorder	5	Vandalism, graffiti, driving, fighting, trespassing
Drunkenness	3	Street parties, drinking in public, drink driving
Victims in public space	1	Young person attacked in public space
Positive contributors to the community	1	Young people completing a community mural

When considering these dominant constructions, there were four narratives that were reproduced across the different articles.

Young People are Offenders

Of the 18 articles that referred to young people's behaviour and/or activities in public space, eight addressed criminal behaviour amongst young people in Kaiapoi. Many of these articles described behaviours such as theft, breaching earthquake cordons, burglaries, attacking people and arson.

Young people's criminal behaviour was frequently depicted as being part of a teenage 'crime spree' within Kaiapoi, particularly when it took place after the earthquakes and within the cordoned area. In many of these stories, young people were reported to have breached the cordon in order to vandalise properties and attempt burglaries. In another instance, young people were described as having assaulted a woman after she told them to stop swearing and yelling at her children. Finally, in two of the articles, young people were reported as being the suspects in an arson attack on red zoned buildings in Kaiapoi.

Cumulatively these accounts suggest that young people in Kaiapoi are thought to bring danger and threat to public spaces. The narrative of 'young people are offenders' contributes to the construction of young people as a polluting presence in public space (Sibley, 1995). The narrative also reinforces the moral panic and the subsequent adult action that led to the control/regulation of young people in public space. For example, the local liquor ban, but also by police targeting young people in public space. A journalist from The Press reported;

'North Canterbury police are targeting youth offenders to counter surge in burglaries and vandalism. Police area manager Peter Cooper said Rangiora and Kaiapoi officers had seen a "massive increase" in vandalism like the breaking of car windows and letterboxes in recent weeks. The four-day operation starting this weekend would target youth offenders' (*The Press*, 3/10/2008 p. 4).

These police actions often led to the arrest of young people and it was hoped, by police, that such actions would deter other young people from taking part in criminal activity. Quoting Senior Sergeant Newbury, a journalist from The Press reported,

'These arrests send another clear message to people contemplating illegal activity or behaviour as a result of the Canterbury earthquake – this will not be tolerated by police' (*The Press*, 15/9/2010).

Young People Represent Disorder

A second narrative, that 'young people represent disorder', was present in five of the articles. Many of these related to the themes of crime and drunkenness with most articles mentioning young people's disorderly behaviour either alongside alcohol consumption or as precursor to more serious criminal behaviour. Supporting this, an article in *The Press* reported,

'North Canterbury police are targeting youth offenders to counter a surge in burglaries and vandalism... [The police manager] said it was important to deal with small crimes before they lead to serious offences. The person who breaks a window today is tomorrow's burglar' (*The Press*, 3/10/2008).

The articles that presented this narrative included accounts of young people trespassing, driving dangerously, vandalising and tagging. For instance;

'Repeated vandalism by teenage "louts" in Kaiapoi is threatening to drive businesses out of town...shop windows have been smashed, flower beds and trees ripped up, and rubbish bins wrecked in other recent acts of vandalism' (*The Press*, 23/8/2000).

'A Kaiapoi youth climbed onto the roof of a chemist shop and threw eggs at a group of youths in retribution for being "stoned and egged" the previous week...he was seeking revenge when he attacked pedestrians but now realised how stupid he had been' (*The Press*, 14/12/2000).

'A 17 year old Christchurch youth and an 18 year old from Kaiapoi were arrested for intentional damage. Police had been alerted to vandalism in Kaiapoi on Friday morning after someone had "gone nuts" with paint and a roller brush on Thursday night. It was absolutely everywhere – homes, community buildings, commercial properties' (*The Press*, 18/10/2012).

Together, these excerpts demonstrate the ways in which media representations of young people in Kaiapoi construct them as disorderly. The accounts depict young people as a public nuisance but also

as vandals and disruptors. This narrative, 'young people represent disorder' has parallels with the narrative, 'young people are offenders', particularly in relation to the construction of young people as a negative, dangerous and threatening presence in Kaiapoi's public spaces.

Young People and Drunkenness

Another narrative present in the articles was 'young people and drunkenness'. Three articles included accounts of street parties, drinking in public and police action, and drink driving. Young people's use of alcohol was depicted as being met with disapproval by adults and contributing to young people making bad decisions, such as drink driving. The articles described some of the behaviours of young people who were drinking, such as breaking bottles, damaging hedges and congregating on the streets. Adults were described as perceiving these behaviours as causing havoc to residential areas and being threatening to residents. For instance;

'Residents of a Kaiapoi suburb have had a gutsful of drunken late-night street parties, some are considering abandoning their homes... "Friday night was the worst for a while. We had a group of about 20 teenagers congregating on the street, drinking around their cars, breaking bottles, urinating, breaking people's hedges." Robin said elderly residents in the street are being terrorised, but too scared to say anything. "These kids are causing anarchy. You can't reason with them when they're fuelled with alcohol. That's the crux of the matter...They don't respect anyone. They just give you the fingers and tell you to 'f' off" (*The Press*, 27/11/2008).

This account presents a particular picture of the outcomes of young people drinking in public space. Such portrayals of young people echo the work by Panelli et al. (2002a) who found that media representations of young people presented a pattern of 'young people + public space + alcohol = drunkenness + havoc + disgust' (p. 26).

Notions of disciplinary response also existed within this narrative. In response to the behaviours of young people drinking in public spaces, residents and police wanted the liquor ban to be extended to cover more of the residential areas in Kaiapoi in order to give police more control over alcohol in those areas. In the past, police control over alcohol had had an impact on young people's alcohol use in Kaiapoi. As the following article reported;

'A "zero tolerance" approach to public drunkenness is reaping rewards, Kaiapoi police say. Sergeant Baker said youth caught drinking in the streets were being issued with instant fines. "You only have to give them one or two tickets and they get the message real fast", Mr Baker said...Kaiapoi had endured trouble by drunken youths recently, but last weekend police reported few problems' (*The Press*, 7/11/2000).

Not All Young People are Bad

The final narrative present in the articles was that 'not all young people are bad'. Two articles explore different aspects of this narrative. The first article reported an attack on a young person in a public space, with an understanding of young people as victims in public space. This is consistent with work by Griffin (1993) who described how young people are often constructed as being at risk or potential victims in the environment. The second article described how a group of young people from the local alternative/community education program were painting a mural in Kaiapoi. This article depicted young people as being positive contributors to their community. This kind of article and portrayal of young people stands in contrast to the other articles about young people in public space, as it suggests that young people can be a positive presence in communities. However, in saying this, it is important to acknowledge that only one article in the sample depicted young people in this positive way, whilst 16 articles represented them negatively. As a result, it is the dominant negative constructions of young people that continue to be circulated and inform people's attitudes towards young people.

Adult Constructions

In contrast to the local media constructions, the adult key informants offered a nuanced and more complex view of young people in Kaiapoi. This section will present some of the key findings from the interviews with the key informants. It will begin by discussing their professional roles in the Kaiapoi community and their work with young people. I will then explore and compare how adults who do not work/associate with young people (“negative constructors”) and adults who do (“nuanced understanders”) construct and understand young people in Kaiapoi. I will also discuss the predominantly negative constructions of young people held by some adults and some of the possible reasons for these constructions. The last part of this section investigates the notion that young people’s behaviour, which may inform many of the negative constructions, is frequently related to their circumstances and the issues they are facing. Here I hope to demonstrate that constructions of young people are often limited by a lack of attention to the reasons behind some of their behaviours and the challenges they may experience.

Key Informants’ Roles and Work with Young People

As noted in the previous chapter, the ten key informants worked in a range of professions: youth work, police, social work, council, mental health intervention, pastoring, alternative/community education, teaching, and school management. This meant that they encountered and interacted with different young people in their work. Some key informants tended to work with a wide range of young people. For example, Hannah, the Youth Development Co-ordinator from the council, worked with different young people around the ideas of citizenship and leadership and helped encourage them to have their say and be active members of the community. David, a local youth pastor and Remi, a teacher at Kaiapoi High School and also a pastor at a local church, worked with young people from a range of different backgrounds and circumstances (including young people from Christian backgrounds, dysfunctional families and low socio-economic situations). But they also worked with

young people who were a part of functional families and from good backgrounds, and those who experienced relatively few economic, social or emotional difficulties.

Most of the key informants interacted with specific groups of young people, with relatively little engagement with the wider population of young people. For example, Nigel, a youth worker, worked with young people who were struggling to engage in different classes at Kaiapoi High School.

Andrew, a Youth Aid Officer in Kaiapoi, worked with young people under the age of seventeen who were offending and decided how to deal with their offences. Alison, a social worker, worked with children and families in Kaiapoi and helped support parents and families with issues they might be facing, such as young people having difficulties staying in school or not wanting to be at school.

Michelle, the Youth Brief Intervention Co-ordinator, worked with young people with possible mild to moderate mental illness or situational stressors who had been referred by their doctors. Additionally there was Kath and Karen who were both involved, to some degree, in the Northern Steps alternative/community education programme for young people who were in trouble with the police and/or had been excluded from school. Finally, Stephen, the Deputy Principal at Kaiapoi High School, who has responsibility for the pastoral welfare of the young people at the school and often worked with the young people who demonstrated negative behaviours at school such as fighting or truancy.

It is from their roles and experiences with young people that the key informants' knowledges emerged. Therefore it is important to acknowledge that for the most part young people who were using services such as mental health intervention, social work or alternative education, or those who were known by school management and by the police, do not represent the whole population of young people in Kaiapoi, but rather are a small group. Additionally it was often also this group who were associated with the negative stereotypes attributed to young people.

Adult Constructions of Young People in Kaiapoi

The interviews with key informants revealed that there are two groups of adults within Kaiapoi who perceive, construct and understand young people in different ways. As Hannah, the Youth Development Co-ordinator from the Waimakariri Council, explained:

But I think yeah adult perceptions, there's a couple of camps. I think there's those that think they're great and help them out...But at the same time, yeah, I think there's a lot of misunderstanding. [Some] adults don't quite understand.

Hannah's response references two different groups of adults. She describes a group who help young people out and who are more likely to have more positive views towards them ("nuanced understanders"). She then describes another group who misunderstand young people ("negative constructors"). These two groups form the basis of the discussion of the different ways in which adults in Kaiapoi construct and understand young people.

The Negative Constructors

The first group of adults who create meanings about young people in Kaiapoi were represented as the general public, adults who do not work closely with young people but have views about them. Given the key informants' roles in the community, working with young people, it was assumed that they would likely be aware of some of the ways in which other adults (i.e. those not working with young people) in Kaiapoi might view young people. Many of the informants reported that other adults had negative views towards young people in Kaiapoi that ranged from the mundane to more extreme. Some of these are illustrated below;

[The general attitude among other adults is that] young people are lazy, they don't try. They don't try and find a job, or they don't try and stay in education or they don't try hard enough to do things. – Alison, Social Worker

I think a lot of the community think the kids are out of control and that Kaiapoi has huge issues with young people. I was at a meeting a wee while ago where there were a lot of complaints about the young people and how out of control they were and the bad things they were doing. – Andrew, Youth Aid Officer

There is the typical public perception of youth around...I think many adults view youth as a problem for someone else to solve. – David, Youth Pastor

These responses reveal that other adult's views about young people are typically negative. By viewing young people in Kaiapoi as lazy, out of control, or a problem to be solved, adults construct and reinforce meanings about young people that support the essentialised negative constructions of young people.

Many informants noted that these negative constructions often arose from a lack of understanding, whereby some adults may not feel like they understand young people but often will not take the time to understand them by interacting with them. Instead adults' views were often informed in other ways. The responses of key informants revealed three main ways adults' views were informed. Firstly, by relying on their assumptions and perceptions about young people they saw. Secondly, they were also informed by media portrayals of young people. Finally, they used past incidents involving certain young people and generalised those characteristics to any and/or every young person.

Adults often relied on assumptions when understanding young people. These assumptions were often made by adults based on their perceptions of young people's behaviour and appearance. For example, Andrew, the Youth Aid Officer, noted,

You see them walking and hanging down the street with their hoodies up and the walk on, with the attitude, and those kids a lot of the time will be absolutely fine. They won't be causing any issues; they might look like they are. But for an adult to look at that, they will

think that's a criminal in the making or whatever else...But quite often they'll just be hanging out and doing stuff.

Andrew explains how without engaging with young people at all, adults can construct sets of negative meanings about young people, based on what they see them wearing and how they perceive them to be acting. This is consistent with Nolan (2003) who argued that groups of people who are in positions of authority (i.e. adults) can label certain people or behaviours negatively, depending on what they consider to be appropriate and inappropriate. As a result, without even doing anything wrong, young people can be constructed in a negative way that represents them as a problem or threat.

The media also played a role in informing adults' views about young people. However, as discussed above, the portrayal of young people in the media is often negative and focuses only on particular types of behaviour (i.e. crime, drinking or vandalism) or incidents involving young people. It was also noted that many of the adults who were quoted in articles or who wrote letters to the editor were those people who were ready to complain about things. People who were okay, happy, or even neutral towards things that were going on with young people and the community did not tend to share their thoughts publicly. As a result, the perspectives about young people presented in the media were often skewed by this and were also likely to be more extreme than in reality. Therefore, it is these sensationalised or extreme constructions that inform adults' views about young people and their responses towards them. One informant, Hannah, the Youth Development Co-ordinator, noted,

But I think in general though, a lot of society is intimidated by young people...and because of the way that the media has constructed them they don't have the best rap.

Hannah's response reveals that media constructions inform adults' views about young people to the extent that they contribute to their response towards young people.

In addition to assumptions and media portrayals, past events where some young people have got into trouble also inform adults' understandings of young people. For example, Karen, who worked with young people in alternative education, stated,

...you go to New World and there's kids hanging out the front on the seats and they may look scruffy or you go to New World and the kids are over in the park and they may not be doing anything wrong, but people see a group of young people and automatically think trouble. And that's because trouble has happened in the past. So yeah I'd probably think that adults viewing young people in Kaiapoi, the kids that they see on the street, that they probably wouldn't have a good impression of them even if they're not doing anything wrong. And then they just generalise, you know.

Karen's response illustrates the way in which negative views about young people also often stem from incidents involving young people. However, it also shows how ideas and views about young people become generalised, whereby some adults will take the behaviours of some young people at a certain time and generalise them to any and/or every young person. As a result, the ideas and constructions of young people that are shared and circulated throughout a community may become so prevalent that even when a young person is minding their own business and hanging out with friends they are automatically assumed to be causing trouble.

These excerpts above also demonstrate that there is a lack of understanding towards young people by many adults who do not work with or encounter young people. This was reflected in the misinterpretation of what young people were doing when they hung out in public spaces as well as in the reliance on other forms of information, such as the media, to gain an understanding of young people. As a result, the discourses and views that some adults have about young people in Kaiapoi are often sensationalised and/or generalised. This is consistent with Sibley's (1995) work that suggests that as people encounter difference (i.e. unfamiliar others or strangers) they construct meanings and narratives about them in order to make sense of and distance themselves, discursively

and in some instances physically, from the unfamiliar.

However, a few informants noted that in some cases, some adults' views of young people were informed by their personal experiences. For example, Remi, noted,

You know, somebody makes a mistake and you all look like idiots. So I think for those [adults], they've seen something or they've been burnt by somebody young, and they've sort of just made up their mind about all youth.

Remi explains how negative personal experiences with a young person can impact their views of young people. It also further highlights that there is a tendency among many adults to generalise the meanings and constructions they ascribe to young people.

The Nuance Understanders

The second group of adults, who perceive, construct and understand young people in Kaiapoi were those whose work involved young people. This group, which is made up by some of the key informants and other professionals and volunteers in the youth sector, were more inclined to support, think and want the best for young people in Kaiapoi. This attitude towards young people seemed surprising given that it is often adults in these roles that see and work with the young people who were struggling or causing trouble. Despite this, there was a broad consensus among these informants that young people who were struggling or causing trouble represented only a small minority of the wider population of young people in Kaiapoi. Three informants commented,

I think as a whole, the invisible majority of kids are fine. And I think they're barely seen. They are busy, they're doing things around. They're involved in sports, they're involved in other things. They're busy. Those kids, people barely notice them because they're just not there. The small, visible minority that walk around in hoodies and smoking and just slouching around the place, and just generally have got nothing to do, and are visible in Kaiapoi. I think they colour the attitudes of people to them because they're surly, they're

smelly, they're rude, and they just sort of slouch around and are just generally unpleasant individuals. –Stephen, Deputy Principal at Kaiapoi High School

You know things like tagging. If you have bored kids, that's the kind of thing that will happen. But it's not all kids; it's a minority of kids. The majority of kids we have here are great kids. But there are a few that ruin it for others, you know, they'll go and do some tagging and stuff like that and all of a sudden every teenager is a tagger. –Andrew, Youth Aid Officer

I think that young people in Kaiapoi, well there's a few that make silly decisions that screw the perspective for the rest of society. Like the incident at McDonalds was just gutting. But yeah, I think it's the few that actually make the rest look bad. –Nigel, Youth Worker

These responses highlight how the negative constructions associated with young people are often the result of the behaviour or actions of a small group of young people in Kaiapoi while the wider population of young people become characterised according to the negative constructions, or 'tarred by the same brush' as one informant, Remi, described. Therefore by acknowledging, as many informants did, that these adult constructions were informed by the behaviours or actions of a few and that not all young people are the same, the essentialised or generalised constructions of young people begin to be problematised and complicated.

There was also recognition that there are many young people who may not fit the universal constructions and there is nuance, complexity and diversity in young people's identities. One informant, Karen, explained,

There are so many different groups. Like, you've got the 'scooter fags' as they call them, and then you've got, you know, the nicer kids who will hang around with each other and bus into the mall. Then you've got the kids, you know even year 9 and 10s, who are out on the street at 12 o'clock at night, roaming. Then there's kids that hang at the band rotunda

all hours of the night and the kids that sleep down by the river because they can't go home on the weekends... So there's a huge variety of young people.

Therefore when thinking about different groups of young people it becomes difficult to characterise them universally and think about them as a single category, because that would ignore the differences and nuances that exist between the groups. This supports work by Valentine, Skelton and Chambers (1998) who argue that there are multiple ways to think about and understand young people that co-exist and complicate the essentialised youth identities.

The general consensus among informants, that young people in Kaiapoi were not a homogenous group, allowed for a variety of different views to be expressed. These included positive and negative ideas about young people in Kaiapoi, but most importantly often recognised the nuance and diversity. For example, when asked to describe Kaiapoi young people, Andrew, the Youth Aid Officer, commented,

Most of them would be pretty friendly. Most of them are pretty good kids. Some of them just make some pretty bad decisions from time to time. I guess some of them are lazy, because they complain that there's nothing to do where there is actually plenty, they've just got to...go and find it.

Andrew's response highlights a range of ideas about different groups of young people and also recognises that young people in Kaiapoi are different. The diversity of young people was further highlighted by other informants' descriptions of young people who they encountered through their work. For example, Hannah, the Youth Develop Co-ordinator from the Waimakariri Council, described the young people she encountered as down to earth, resourceful, friendly, people who care about their community and town but have often been disempowered by their life situation. Similarly, Stephen, the Deputy Principal at Kaiapoi High School, described many of the young people who he worked with as honest, transparent, resilient and people who are up front and 'wear their

hearts on their sleeves'. These more positive characterisations of young people portray different kinds of young people who are not often acknowledged and represented in the media or many adult perspectives.

Contrasting the more positive characterisations, other informants used more negative characterisations to describe different young people in Kaiapoi. For example, Alison, a social worker, described the different young people who she has come across in her work as bored, in need of a direction for their lives, and challenging of authority. She commented how in her work she sometimes dealt with families where the young person had been excluded from school or did not want to be at school. This frequently meant they did not have many options, in terms of work, which often resulted in the young person experiencing inactivity and/or boredom. Michelle, the Youth Brief Intervention Co-ordinator, described some of the young people she worked with as worn out, struggling, and more grown up for their age. She noted that the Canterbury earthquakes and subsequent issues related to housing and family stress had had an impact on many young people's mental health, and had left many young girls (approximately 15-16 year olds) emotionally disregulated and experiencing mental health difficulties such as anxiety. Some young people were also described as having a lack of respect towards people and places in Kaiapoi that was demonstrated in the way that many young people talked to others and also in the treatment of the environment. Some informants described how the act of littering around the high school and community demonstrated a lack of respect for those places.

Another characterisation that a number of key informants used to describe some young people was that many young people in Kaiapoi were often limited by their circumstances. For example, Hannah, stated,

I think that a lot of them haven't been, haven't had a lot of the opportunities that kids in other areas have. And I think that there's, yeah, there's an undercurrent of not being as well off as other kids. And I think that they're very aware of that.

Hannah's comment alludes to an underlying demographic of Kaiapoi compared to surrounding areas and the mentality of many members of the community. Many informants noted that numerous young people did not have as many opportunities as young people in other areas because families were not able to afford extracurricular activities like sport; parents or guardians had to work a lot and were unable to transport young people to events or activities within or outside of Kaiapoi; and also that there were some places, networks, or job opportunities that did not exist in town. The combination of these things created an environment where many young people felt unsatisfied about where they lived and disempowered, which led to some internalising the mentality that this is all there is for them. As a result, there were many young people whose lives were often located solely in Kaiapoi town because they did not seek opportunities outside of the town and who were also often unaware of their potential. A few informants described that this mentality had implications on their ability to find work after school. Remi noted,

And I see it with kids all the time, they leave school, they go out looking for a job but they look down Williams Street and that's about it. They don't go any further than that...and it takes them a while but some of them do find a job elsewhere but it's hard for some kids because this is life as they know it and anything outside of that is foreign.

This response highlights the difficulties that some young people face when finding work as a result of their lives having been situated solely in Kaiapoi, whereby some young people might see Kaiapoi as the only place to find a job because it is all they know and it is within their comfort zone. However, this response also recognises that not all young people experienced this difficulty.

Young People's Behaviour Related to Their Circumstance

The power of constructions about young people is that they generalise behaviour and often prevent an in-depth understanding of the lives of young people and the reasons behind their behaviour. The interviews with key informants also revealed important insights into the different issues that young people were facing in Kaiapoi that likely influenced their behaviour. This is not to say that young

people's behaviour was solely a result of their circumstances, because young people could, and did make decisions about how they wanted to behave. However, it is important to understand that young people's behaviour often did relate, in some way, to their circumstances.

In the school environment, some informants described how young people's circumstances influenced how much they engaged in school. They noted a number of factors that contributed to young people not engaging at school such as family issues or crises (for example, stressed families dealing with earthquake related issues like insurance or relocation), having drugs and alcohol in the home, not having a warm house or enough food and for many not having clear behavioural boundaries set by parents. As a result, many young people picked up on the stress in their families or they came to school hungry or tired and found it difficult to concentrate which had an impact on them and their behaviour at school. For many students experiencing these issues and presenting challenging behaviour, this meant that school was a real struggle and for some this resulted in being excluded from school permanently.

Outside of the school environment, there was also recognition that young people's circumstances impact their behaviour in public spaces. For example, Andrew, the Youth Aid Officer, who deals with young people who were offending, described,

When we deal with a kid who's offending we look at what is making them offend. Is it stuff going on at home, is it parental conflict, is it school, is it alcohol and drugs? What's going on in their peer group? So we look at all those things and come up with a plan that will hopefully improve things for them and stop them offending... We can punish the kid for offending, but it's going to be a waste of time because that's not really the issue.

This response highlights an understanding that young people's behaviour is often the expression of a wider issue, whether it is related to dysfunctional family dynamics, bullying, poverty, alcohol and drugs or something else. However, in saying this, these issues should not be seen as an excuse for

young people to behave in negative ways because part of a person's behaviour is also dependent on them choosing to do it. Rather, the issues provide valuable insight and possible explanations for some of the reasons why some young people might choose to behave the way they do.

Young People Constructing Each Other

The discursive environment that young people encounter in Kaiapoi is also made up of the constructions and understandings that young people have about each other. Previous studies (for example Vanderbeck & Dunkley, 2004) have cited how young people categorise other young people and construct them in different ways. In doing this, young people develop local otherings or constructions by stereotyping the differences between themselves and other groups. A similar process was evident in this research whereby different young people characterised other young people in Kaiapoi.

The interviews with young people revealed important insights into the characterisations that young people have about other young people in Kaiapoi. Many participants noted that there were a number of cliques or different groups that existed within Kaiapoi that covered a range of different young people. The most common groups that were described included the 'ruffians', the nerds, the slutty group, and the car enthusiasts.

The 'ruffians' were characterised by many participants as being the 'rough kids' of Kaiapoi who were intimidating to be around and often got into trouble. One participant described the group as being dropkicks who did not seem to care too much about their future. The group was also frequently characterised by their negative behaviours such as smoking, swearing and doing drugs. As a result, many participants tried to avoid being around this group because they found the behaviour 'gross'. Many participants noted that young people from the 'ruffian' group hung out around McDonalds in Kaiapoi and acted as though they owned the place as well as some parks in Kaiapoi. This resulted in some of the participants feeling intimidated when they went to McDonalds on their own. Others

mentioned that they would avoid going to certain parks because of the 'ruffians' that hung out there. However, when asked if she would not go to particular places because of the 'ruffians', one participant, Hayley, replied,

Nah. Like generally I kind of get along with everyone, so I'll know someone in those ruffians groups and so I'll be like 'hey'.

These reactions to either feel intimidated by the 'ruffians' or to feel at ease around them is consistent with the findings of Watt and Stenson (1998) who found that perceiving other young people in negative ways and creating local otherings can make some young people feel unsafe or intimidated in some places. However they also found that having a personal knowledge, or as was the case with Hayley, a personal relationship, that young people feel safer and at ease around people who are in different groups than them.

The 'nerds' were another group characterised by young people in Kaiapoi. Some participants described this group as a group of guys who hung out in the school library on the computers during lunchtime and who talked about computer stuff. Many noted that this group also enjoyed gaming and as a result, outside of school, participants rarely saw people from this group around Kaiapoi. With this understanding, participants expressed that this group was not a cool group to belong to. However, these understandings of 'nerds' refer only to those interested in computers. There were other participants who had a broader understanding of what constitutes being a nerd. These participants described how there were other young people in Kaiapoi who did well at school and enjoyed reading who they also considered to be nerds. These nerds were considered to be the 'cool nerds', as Ryan (aged 15) described.

Another group constructed by young people was the 'slutty' group. This group was described by a few participants as being well-known throughout Kaiapoi 'for having very short skirts and for having sex', as Rachel (aged 17) noted. Some participants discussed that this group consisted of girls around

the ages of 15-16 years old who liked to party. One participant mentioned that she had once been a part of this group but described how her behaviour was not as bad as other girls in the group. She highlighted that even though she was part of the group for a while she thought about the other girls in the group as different to her, as worse than her. Thus she constructed them differently to herself despite belonging to the same group.

The final group that was characterised by participants was the 'car enthusiasts'. Participants described this group as a group of boys at the high school who had cars that had been modified. These boys liked to hang around their cars at school in the car park and talk about them. Rachel, who was not impressed by this, noted,

Um, there's like the car people, bogan with cars, the cars that are lowered down and the really loud ones and the ones that scrape the ground. They're mainly year 12 and there's a lot of them...and they drive around town all together and they're all old cars, not old like vintage but old like bombs. Yeah and they just drive them all around town together, going everywhere and stuff. There's a bogan corner in the Kaiapoi high parking lot and there's these four cars that are there, and it's the same group of friends and it's just these four cars that are like, there's one guy, he's got a grey ute, it's been lowered down and it's really gross looking, when he comes out of the car park, it scratches on the ground. And I laugh every time I see it. I'm just like 'you're an idiot'...it looks cool though, apparently.

This response reveals Rachel's judgements towards this group of young people. It also reflects how this group is negatively constructed by describing its members as "bogans" and how they modify their cars as "gross", disgusting or unattractive.

These different constructions of young people in Kaiapoi represent the most common characterisations that arose from the interviews with young people. And while not being an extensive representation of the different groups of young people in Kaiapoi, these constructions

demonstrate that young people's perceptions and understandings of each other contribute to the discursive environment within Kaiapoi that young people encounter. And, in some instances, the constructions impact their experiences in places, to the extent that some avoid places because of the perceptions and constructions of others who are there.

Intersecting Discourses

As described above, there are a number of different ideas about young people that are held by adults and young people themselves. These ideas circulate, overlap and at times clash within Kaiapoi's discursive environment. This final section will consider some of these intersections between discourses held by adults and young people, and explore the power relations behind the circulation of different ideas and the construction of knowledge about young people in Kaiapoi.

The constructions of young people created by adults and young people were at times similar and at other times very different. For the most part, young people's constructions of each other shared similarities with the 'nuance understanders'. Like the 'nuance understanders', young people did not generalise understandings to all young people but rather revealed the diversity of young people in Kaiapoi. However, in saying that, young people's constructions also shared similarities with the 'negative constructors'. Like the 'negative constructors', young people's constructions of each other often arose from them stereotyping the differences between themselves and other young people from different groups. Similar to the 'negative constructors', young people created stereotypes based on the behaviours and appearances of their peers for example, smoking = 'ruffians' or short skirts = 'slutty'.

The reproduction of differences and negative stereotyping of different groups of young people by youth participants was interesting given that the survey revealed that young people wanted adults to have more positive views of young people in Kaiapoi. Figure 6 illustrates the views that young people want adults to have of them. The responses revealed that the majority of young people wanted adults to have positive views of young people, not to assume that all young people are 'bad' or they

did not answer the question. These first two responses support those held by the 'nuance understanders' that acknowledge the nuance and diversity of young people and were likely to hold a more positive perspective towards young people.

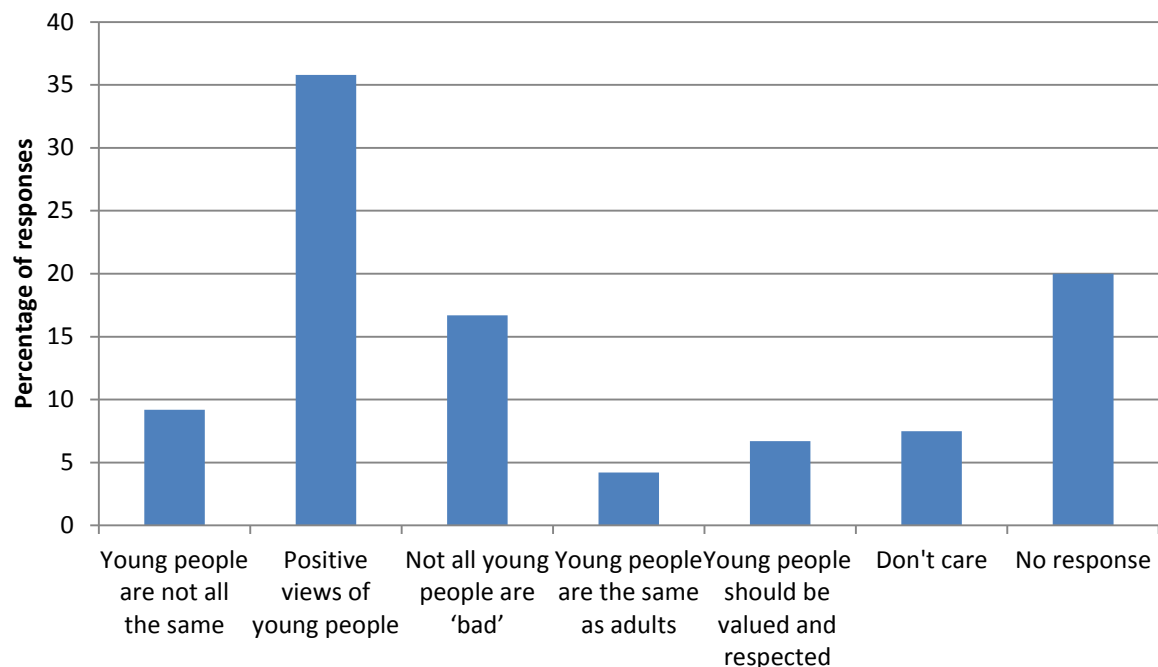


Figure 6 Views that young people want adults in Kaiapoi to have of them

Despite young people creating their own understandings of young people and wanting a more positive view of young people to be held by adults, it was the constructions created by the 'negative constructors' that were the dominant and most widely circulated understandings of young people in Kaiapoi. Whereas the 'nuance understanders' views and even more so, young people's views, did not seem to circulate as widely or as powerfully as the 'negative constructors' views.

The survey showed that young people were aware of the different, but mainly negative ways adults saw them. Table 5 presents the different constructions that survey participants thought adults in Kaiapoi associated with young people. It shows that the majority of participants thought that adults constructed young people in Kaiapoi in negative ways, such as, being drunk and druggies or troublemakers. This illustrates that many young people were aware of the dominant constructions that exist and were circulated in Kaiapoi. As described above, part of the reason these dominant

constructions were so widely circulated is because the sharing of them was far reaching, for example, they were shared via local media and through the attitudes of many adult members of the public who complained about and avoided young people. Additionally, with each negative article or negatively perceived experience with or of young people, the negative constructions were further reinforced, making it difficult for views contrary to these to influence any change in view.

Table 5 Young people's view of the common ways adults construct young people in Kaiapoi (N=120)

Constructions of young people	Number of responses
Troublemakers	108
Drunks and druggies	82
Nuisances	83
Threatening	58
Victims	38
Important members of the Kaiapoi community	28
People who have valuable ideas	21
Studious	21
The future of the town	37

However, in saying that, some young people thought that adults saw young people in a more positive light, for example, as important members of the community or as the future of the town. This response by some young people reveals that the more positive constructions held by some adults like the 'nuance understanders' were also circulating in Kaiapoi, however at a lesser extent as the negative constructions. Part of this circulation of positive views may have resulted from the relationships that some young people had with adults in the community. For example, some of the survey participants were part of different groups such as WAIYouth group or various youth groups, where young people likely interacted with adults who held more positive and nuanced views of young people. While the views of the 'nuance understanders' may not have been as dominant or mainstream as those of the 'negative constructors' and were perhaps contained to specific

interactions and/or places with young people and other 'nuance understanders', this demonstrates how more positive and nuanced views were in fact circulating within Kaiapoi.

Similar to the constructions created and held by the 'nuance understanders', young people's views also did not circulate widely. In fact, young people's local otherings seemed to circulate mainly within the population of young people in Kaiapoi, particularly at the local high school; thus they were contained within this group. Having little access to mediums through which to share their views, other than perhaps the WAIYouth group and youth groups, it was difficult for young people to share their views in ways where they might be heard. As a result, their views often remained marginalised within the wider discursive environment.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the discursive environment of Kaiapoi in relation to young people. It explored the different ways in which young people in Kaiapoi are constructed by the media, adults and young people. I found that local media representations of young people were predominantly negative, particularly in relation to their behaviour in public space. Narratives related to crime, disorder and drunkenness were the dominant portrayals of young people in Kaiapoi.

These negative constructions of young people were similar to the ideas that many adults in Kaiapoi appear to hold. The key informants revealed that local adults who did not work with young people typically have negative views of them. The findings suggest that these negative constructions of young people often arise from a lack of understanding about young people due in part to their lack of personal association. Because of this, adults often relied on assumptions, media, past incidents, and on the odd occasion, personal experience to inform their views about young people. It was also revealed that there is a tendency among these adults to generalise the meanings and constructions they ascribe to young people and categorise young people as a single group. This supports other geographical research that considers people's encounter with strangers or unfamiliar others, whereby people construct meanings and narratives about the unfamiliar other to understand and

socially distance themselves from the unfamiliar other (e.g. Sibley, 1995; Valentine & Sadgrove, 2012).

The findings also highlighted that there are other adults (those who worked with young people) who have different understandings of young people. They used many different characterisations to describe different groups of young people in Kaiapoi. These characterisations suggest that not all young people are the same, but are instead a diverse group of people with different views, behaviours, and experiences. Participants demonstrated an understanding of the nuance and differences that exist between young people.

The results also showed that young people also contributed to the discursive environment in Kaiapoi by perceiving and constructing each other. Many of the characterisations were synonymous with the different cliques that exist amongst young people in Kaiapoi. However it showed how young people actively mark the differences between themselves and others by stereotyping and characterising other young people.

Finally, the research revealed that there were intersections between discourses held by adults and young people. It showed that the views of the 'negative constructors' and 'nuance understanders' were quite different, but young people's constructions shared similarities with both groups.

Additionally, the results suggested that there were power relations influencing the circulation of different ideas and the construction of knowledge about young people in Kaiapoi. It was revealed that the main representations in the media and the views of the 'negative constructors' were the dominant and most widely circulated views of young people in Kaiapoi. Whereas the more positive and nuanced constructions of 'nuance understanders' were circulating to a lesser degree and were contained within interactions and/or places with young people or other 'nuance understanders'.

Furthermore, the views held by young people were the least circulated and remained marginalised within the wider discursive environment and contained within the population of young people in Kaiapoi.

Overall this chapter has provided valuable insight into the discursive environment that young people encounter. The following chapter will consider what impact this, along with the physical environment, has on young people's experiences living in Kaiapoi.

Chapter 5: Young People's Experiences and Use of Kaiapoi's Environment

Introduction

Young people's experiences and use of places are complex and shaped by a range of different factors. For example, their friendship groups, the built environment, natural features, extra-curricular opportunities, parental restrictions, or the desire for alone time. Drawing on material from the photovoice activity and survey, this chapter explores the different ways that young people experience and creatively use Kaiapoi's environment.

The chapter begins by investigating and problematizing the view that there is 'nothing to do' in Kaiapoi. I then consider some of the strategies young people are using to create meaningful places within Kaiapoi and in some cases to navigate the post-earthquake environment. I conclude by using the concepts of supportive and unsupportive places to explore the emotional dimensions of young people's varying experiences of places in Kaiapoi.

'Nothing to do' / 'Nowhere to go'?

During the research process, many young people in both the survey and photovoice activity expressed the view that there was nothing for them to do in Kaiapoi. This finding echoes previous research conducted in Kaiapoi which revealed that young people felt there was relatively little entertainment for them in the town (Waimakariri District Council, 2010). The photovoice activity revealed some young people's views;

There's not much to do here is there – Jackson, 14

Um, maybe that there's not actually a lot to do. Like, when you like hang out with your friends it's like you can either like go to the playgrounds or just like walk around or something. Yeah. – Amy, 14

I reckon there's hardly nothing to do, but anyways. – Rikki, 13

...You can go to the dairy or the hedge, or like, there's not really any places that we can go that teenagers would want to. Like I guess there's the pool and the library for people who like to read but otherwise there's really nothing else. – Britney, 15

These statements demonstrate that some young people, particularly younger teenagers (13-15 year olds), think there are not many activities to do or places to go for them and their friends. In particular, Britney's response reveals an awareness that there are some places that might be used by specific types of young people and not others. Similarly, Amy felt that, when hanging out with her friends, there were relatively few places for them to go.

Young people also noted that as a result of the Canterbury earthquakes, they had lost some key hang out spots such as the skate park and BMX track, which further contributed to their sense of there being nothing to do in Kaiapoi. For example, Jared, 16, commented,

There's, like the skate park, for example -- not that I would go there -- but a lot of people who would go there are bored because we don't have one anymore and they are taking so long to build it and get up and do something unlike, what's that area...Rolleston...they've got like three skate parks and another one at the moment is getting built. And I find that not really fair because we haven't got any skate parks.

Jared's view is indicative of those young people in Kaiapoi for whom the loss of the skate park has contributed to a feeling of boredom. This suggests that the skate park was a key hang out spot for many young people in Kaiapoi. Additionally, his comments reveal a level of frustration at the perceived differences between the time taken to build another skate park in Kaiapoi compared to another area in Christchurch. This sense of differential place fortunes was also part of the young peoples' understanding of Kaiapoi, in that many participants felt that earthquake repairs and new developments were proceeding more quickly in other places.

With many young people thinking there is relatively little to do in Kaiapoi, as expressed above by Jared, boredom was a common experience. Some young people linked this sense of boredom to involvement in behaviours that are often understood as negative or in some way 'anti-social'. As Hayley, aged 17, expressed it,

Everyone sort of turns around to me like 'what do you do in Kaiapoi?' I would say not much.

Yeah there's not really much to do for young people as such. Like I guess year 11s, year 10s are becoming more of the troublemakers as such because they don't have much to do.

They're getting involved with the bad stuff, um just because they're getting bored.

Hayley's response demonstrates a belief that for young people, boredom can lead them to get involved in 'bad stuff', including behaviours such as graffiti, drinking, drugs or fighting. Her response also suggests that it may be younger teenagers (14 & 15 year olds) that are likely to get caught up in the negative behaviours.

Figure 7 illustrates the views of the young people who completed the survey. When asked if there were things for people their age to do in Kaiapoi, most young people were either neutral or disagreed to some degree. This reinforces the responses of the young people above and suggests that this view may be shared among many young people in Kaiapoi.

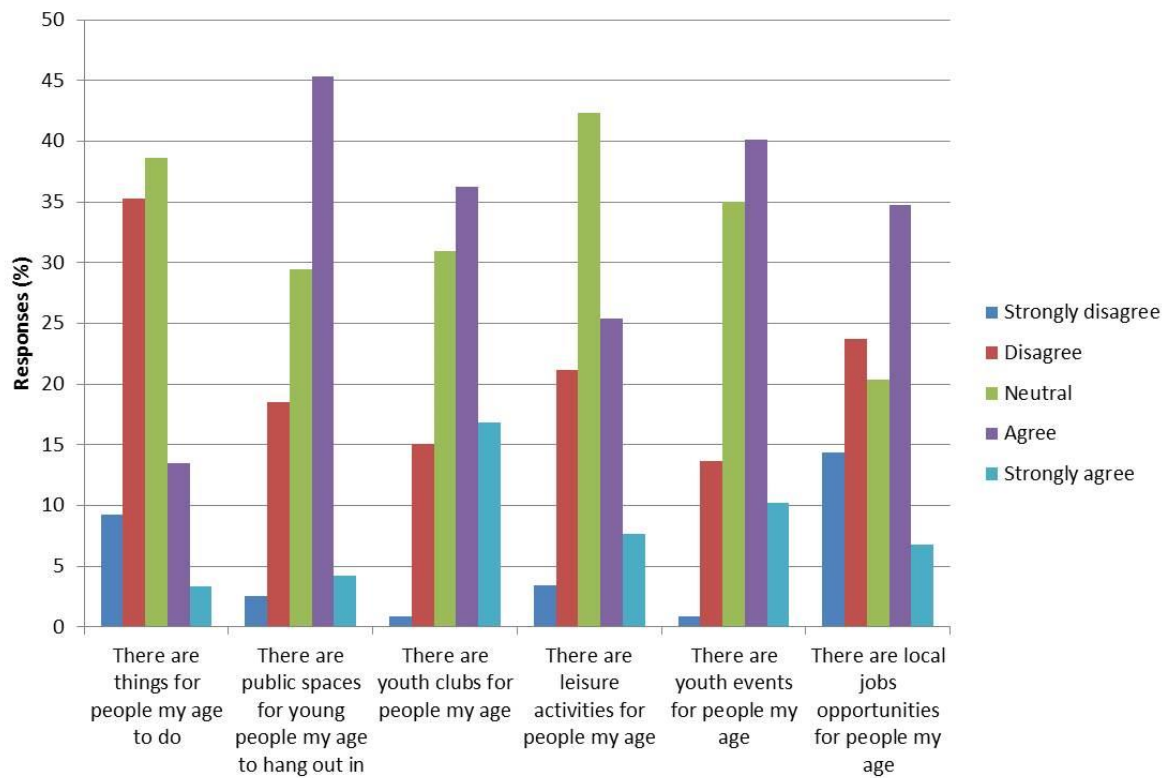


Figure 7 Young people's views about whether there are opportunities and activities for young people in Kaiapoi

Despite many young people feeling that there were relatively few things for people their age to do in Kaiapoi, many agreed to some extent that there were public spaces, youth clubs, youth events and local job opportunities. Additionally, while the majority of young people were neutral when thinking about leisure activities for young people, there were also many young people (approximately one-third of survey respondents) who agreed to some extent that there were leisure activities. These results suggest that the view that 'there is nothing for young people to do in Kaiapoi' is neither uniformly held nor held without some internal nuance and variation.

There are a number of possible explanations to describe this apparent tension. One such explanation for this pattern is expressed in Britney's response above. She noted that while there were places like the pool, library, the dairy or the hedge, for young people to go to, for those uninterested in such places there was not much else for them to do. Therefore while young people may be aware of local

youth events, public spaces and leisure activities, they and/or their friends may not feel personally interested in engaging with them (hence contributing to a sense of nothing to do).

Another way this apparent tension might be understood is by considering that the 'nothing to do' view has become internalised into the identity and reputation of Kaiapoi. Research has shown how small towns, typically rural towns, often have limited recreational opportunities for young people (e.g. Valentine et al., 2008; Quine et al., 2003). As a result, an attitude develops amongst many adult and teenage residents of these places that there is 'nothing to do' for young people. This attitude may become part of the generally circulating social constructions of the town and thus part of how it is described, both by residents and by those outside it. Additionally, the attitude that there is 'nothing to do' for young people may also become an ingrained and dominant part of the identity of the town. Therefore, even if there are activities or places young people go, the dominant 'nothing to do' mentality will often be the way Kaiapoi is automatically described by the town's residents.

There was also a tendency among some young people to admit there was not much to do in Kaiapoi but then make the most of some of the features of the place. For example, Alex, 18, described how Kaiapoi's central location to Christchurch and Rangiora made it accessible to other places. She noted,

Everything is so accessible. And its central location point really, like you can catch a bus into town, you can catch a bus in Rangiora or the city. Nothing ever seems too far away.

Additionally, Hayley, 17, stated,

But it comes down to [us] making the most of what we've actually got. Like I walk a lot, partly because I have a dog, but me and my friends will go for walks all the time...and there's heaps of really cool spots around Kaiapoi and it's just going and finding those spots and chilling out and yeah, there's not much to do but you can fill your time with simple stuff.

Both Alex and Hayley's responses reveal that some young people make the most of the opportunities and places within Kaiapoi and not get bored. Like Alex, young people can access places in

Christchurch City or Rangiora using the bus. Or like Hayley, young people can make use of the public spaces that exist in Kaiapoi such as the parks and reserves. However, it is important to note that these responses were from older teenagers (16-18 year olds) who may have a greater independence and a greater degree of autonomy. They may also be allowed to access these different places without supervision. Despite this, these responses challenged the notion that there is 'nothing to do' in Kaiapoi.

The following discussion explores other ways in which young people made the most of the Kaiapoi environment, and thus introduce further complexity to the construction that there is 'nothing to do' in Kaiapoi.

Young People's Agency and Creative Use of the Kaiapoi

Environment

Despite many young people stating that there is not much to do in Kaiapoi, the photovoice activity revealed that many young people were making use of the Kaiapoi environment in numerous creative ways. The interviews demonstrated that many young people were employing a range of different strategies to create personally meaningful places within the town. Alongside the interview, participants also took photographs of different places that they volunteered for use in this project as part of an informed consent process. This section will consider some of these strategies and look at the specific ways young people creatively use the Kaiapoi environment.

With the loss of the skate park and BMX track after the earthquakes, many young people were left without their key hang out spots. Throughout the interviews, many young people described these recreational facilities as greatly missed. Some young people, however, and particularly teenage boys aged 13-15 years old, have created or 'carved out' new spaces (Matthews, 2003 p. 106). Liam, 14, thus described how for many young people, including himself, Memorial Reserve had become 'scooter central' and the makeshift skate park in Kaiapoi since the loss of the skate park (Fig 8). He

noted that this was one of the few places in Kaiapoi where it was good to scooter because of the flat paving and ledges to practise tricks. In addition to Memorial Reserve, the Band Rotunda in Trousselot Park was another space that was being used as a makeshift skate park. John, 13, described how he used this place to ride his bike with friends and used the Band Rotunda and park to do jumps and tricks (Fig 9). These findings are consistent with work by Woolley (2006) who noted that accessibility, trickability and sociability were some of the main motivators for selecting places to skate.



Figure 8 Memorial Reserve or 'scooter central' (taken by Liam, 14)



Figure 9 The Band Rotunda in Trousselot Park (taken by John, 13)

Spatially, the Memorial Reserve makeshift skate park is significant because it is located within the skate ban area that exists along the main road in Kaiapoi. The reason behind using this space did not appear to be young people resisting the norms – in contrast to what Woolley and Johns (2001) found in their work on urban skate areas – but was rather a practical response to the loss of the original skate park. Given the skate ban in the area, however, it is likely that the use of Memorial Reserve in this way will attract attention from adults or other forms of local authority, as the use (knowingly or unknowingly) contests the dominant meanings of and accepted uses for this historically significant space. Memorial Reserve was designed to be a ‘quiet place of remembrance’ with memorials to veterans from World War I, World War II and the South African War (Waimakariri District Council, n.d.).

Other places that young people were creatively using in Kaiapoi were the parks and playgrounds (Fig 10). The interviews revealed that some young people, particularly girls aged 13-15 years old, were using local parks, particularly those with playgrounds, as places for hanging out with friends. Young people noted that they went to the playgrounds with friends to hang out and actually use the

playgrounds for recreation and fun by using the swings. This contrasts with previous research that demonstrates that young people often use parks as a strategy to avoid authority and be able to chat with friends, smoke and drink (e.g. Matthews, Limb & Percy-Smith, 1998). One of the adult key informants noted that when asked what they wanted to see be developed in Kaiapoi for young people, one of the main things young people wanted to see were more swings. This reinforces the idea that playgrounds were important places for young people, and not necessarily as sites in which to evade or escape adult norms or surveillance.



Figure 10 Charles Street playground (taken by Amy, 14)

The interviews revealed that for older teenagers, 16-18 years old, parks were an important space. However, in contrast to younger teenagers, the selection of parks to go to was determined by the absence of playgrounds and the privacy of the place. This reveals the differing preferences (and perhaps needs) of older teenagers in comparison to younger teenagers (for example a greater need for independence and their sense of autonomy). Rachel, 17, described how she frequently used a local park that was private as a place where she could listen to music, smoke and 'chill out', without

having to worry about anyone seeing her. She often went to the park on her own, to think and get space from things that were going on in her life. Her habits in this respect echo Roberts' (2000) idea of physical separation, whereby young people select and use sites where there are often no adults present and where they can easily hide their activities, but also take time out.

Another way in which young people were creatively using places in Kaiapoi was by inhabiting settings that may seem insignificant to others and thereby transforming them into important places. There were two main examples expressed in the interviews. Firstly, a number of young people mentioned 'the hedge' as an important place to hang out in Kaiapoi (Fig 11). This place was a long, thick hedge that borders the rugby grounds in Kaiapoi. It differed from many hedges that might border residential properties given that it was large and wide enough to climb up onto and also large enough to go into which made it a popular place for young people to hang out. To many people the hedge would be insignificant; it would probably be overlooked and be seen simply as the boundary of the Kaiapoi Rugby Grounds. However many young people enjoyed hanging out and spending time with friends there. Participants noted that they would go and sit on top of the hedge, sunbathe during summer, gossip with friends, talk about relationships and eat lollies they had bought from the local dairy. One young person noted that sometimes young people used the hedge as a place to smoke and drink. She mentioned that when in the hedge, these behaviours could not be seen by others, especially adults. This may demonstrate an intentional attempt to avoid adult attention by being out of view. Hil and Bessant (1999) describe this as the 'method of avoidance' whereby young people attempt to escape from adult surveillance and control (p. 46).



Figure 11 'The hedge' (taken by Britney, 15)

The other example demonstrates a use of space that involved some degree of possible illegality, whereby young people used the roofs of buildings and other things in the built environment recreationally in activities called free running and parkour.² Michael, 14, noted that there was a group of young people in Kaiapoi, in which he was included, who were interested in free running and parkour. He described that these activities frequently involved them using the roofs of different buildings in Kaiapoi such as the high school, primary school and Blakeley's department store to work on their free running or parkour. These activities involved trespassing. When asked if this made him nervous about getting in trouble, Michael responded that the art was all about pushing the limits,

2 Both free running and parkour are forms of the current art movement of expressing oneself through his or her movement in their environment. This can involve running, climbing, jumping and so on depending on what movement is deemed suitable for the situation. Free running also involves acrobatics, such as flips. Free running and parkour have become popular activities among young people, particularly teenage boys in more recent years (Tapp, n.d.).

and that he did not worry too much about it. He stated that it was important to select a time to practise when they were unlikely to be seen by others or get in trouble. This supports Hil and Bessant (1999) who identified that young people choose certain times and places to go to avoid adult attention.

Each of these examples emphasise the agency of young people in Kaiapoi to take every day, ordinary spaces that may be overlooked by others and transform them into places that hold meaning and significance. It also demonstrates how young people may use places differently to adults in Kaiapoi, as they negotiate the meaning of places differently; thus reinforcing the heterogeneity of young people in the town.

Supportive and Unsupportive Places

In addition to the strategies some young people employed when negotiating places in Kaiapoi, the photovoice activity also revealed some of the emotional dimensions of young people's experiences in different places. Whereby the way a place made a young person feel impacted their use of different places in the town. Within the interviews there were four places or areas in Kaiapoi that were commonly described by young people as being positive: home, high school, church, and parks and reserves. A place was considered to be positive if participants experienced positive feelings such as belonging, happiness, or safety there. This supports the work of other youth researchers who indicate that home, natural settings, and social and activity hang outs are some of the places that young people prefer (e.g. Korpela, 1992; Skelton & Valentine, 1998; Matthews & Limb, 1999). The interviews also showed some places or areas that were considered to be negative: high school and earthquake damaged areas. The remainder of this chapter aims to explore the significance of these different places for young people using the metaconcepts of 'supportive' and 'unsupportive' places.

As described in Chapter 2, supportive and unsupportive places are metaconcepts that I have introduced to understand young people's experiences of places in more detail (see Table 6 for

summary). Supportive places are those that are enjoyable and encouraging for young people. They are places where young people have positive place experiences, for example, they experience feelings of belonging, safety or happiness. Supportive places enable supportive place behaviours or activities or things that young people want to do or enjoy, such as hanging out with friends, walking, listening to music or smoking. In contrast, unsupportive places are those that are not encouraging but are instead where young people have negative place experiences, for example, they experience exclusion, sadness, or fear. They are places that do not enable, or only intermittently enable young people to do the activities or things they want to do or enjoy and enable unsupportive place behaviours such as wagging school, fighting at school or avoiding places.

Table 6 Supportive and Unsupportive Places: Characteristics, Behaviours, Emotions

	Supportive Places	Unsupportive Places
	Positive place experience	Negative place experience
Behaviour	<p>Enables supportive place behaviours (i.e. things young people want to do or enjoy)</p> <p>For example: hanging out with friends, walking, listening to music, smoking</p>	<p>Does not enable, or only intermittently enables young people to do things they want or enjoy AND/OR enables unsupportive place behaviours</p> <p>For example: wagging school, causing trouble at school (talking back to teachers, fighting), avoiding places</p>
Emotions	Happiness, welcomed, safe and a sense of belonging	Sad, unsafe, excluded, isolated
Examples of places in this research	Home, school, church, parks and reserves	School and earthquake damaged areas
NB: Places are not inherently either supportive or unsupportive for everyone but become supportive or unsupportive as people interact in and experience them.		

In saying this, understanding how these places actually enable, encourage, or discourage activities or behaviours (i.e. the mechanisms for making places supportive or unsupportive) was not entirely

clear. Part of this may have been due to the difficulty participants seemed to have articulating their experiences of different places beyond describing what they did in the places. Despite encouraging participants to elaborate their descriptions, most young people found it difficult to describe why they thought different places made them feel different emotions. As a result, I was unable to draw any mechanisms from the findings.

As discussed earlier the concepts of supportive and unsupportive places are largely informed by the work on therapeutic landscapes. The concept of therapeutic landscapes has typically been used to describe environments or places that contribute to healing and wellbeing (Williams, 2007). The term considers the different aspects or dimensions of a place that help give it a healing reputation (Gesler, 2003). These include the natural environment, the built environment, the symbolic environment, and the social environment. The natural environment refers to nature or one's natural surroundings. The built environment is any buildings or human-made constructions. The symbolic environment refers to the creation of meaning based on concrete or abstract symbols that people experience in places. Finally, the social environment is the social relationships that are associated with places. While the therapeutic landscapes term is associated with places that promote healing and wellbeing, the physical (natural and built), symbolic, and social aspects of places provide a useful framework for understanding what makes different places in Kaiapoi supportive and/or unsupportive for young people.

Therefore, for the purpose of the discussion that follows, I have utilised the different dimensions of place (physical, social and symbolic) as structuring devices for understanding the supportive and unsupportive nature of different places. While this may make the dimensions of place seem independent, it is important to note that we commonly interact with multiple dimensions of place at one time.

Supportive Place #1: Home

One of the most commonly noted supportive places for young people was their home. For half of the photovoice participants, home was a place where they felt safe and had a sense of belonging. A few young people also mentioned that their home was their favourite place in Kaiapoi. The supportive nature of the place for many young people arose from three dimensions: symbolic, physical and social. The combination of these three dimensions of place made home a significant supportive place for many young people in the study.

Symbolic Dimension

Many young people noted that their home was a place where they could be themselves and relax. For some of these young people, home represented a place where they were free from the gaze of the outside world. This supports work by Milligan (2003) who argued that home can be a place where people are able to retreat from the outside world and be in control. For some young people, home was associated with feelings of safety, enjoyment, and stability. These feelings were particularly significant for some of the young people whose previous homes had been severely damaged in the earthquakes. For these participants, their previous homes had been cold, broken, isolated, 'munted', and was no longer permanent. Since moving into their new homes, home had once again become a place that could be enjoyed, in part because it was warm and new. It had also become a place of stability and safety, as the young people did not feel they had to worry too much about earthquakes. Additionally, for a couple of young people the new home marked the end of the journey of moving between various forms of temporary accommodation as their family waited for insurance pay outs and settlements.

While many young people described home as a supportive place, it is important to mention that the meaning of and lived experiences people have at home are not always supportive (Mallett, 2004). For some people, possibly even some in Kaiapoi, home is a place where people experience violence, sickness, abuse or isolation (Cresswell, 2004; Rose, 1993).

Physical Dimension

Home was also a supportive place because of important places that young people had within their homes. For many young people the most significant place in this respect was their own bedroom. These participants noted that they loved their bedroom because it was their own space where their own things were, where they could do what they want, and that they could personalise. For example, Georgia, 15, felt that,

It's just my place, it's no one else's place, it's mine. Like my room, you know, it's how I like it set up and yeah.

Her response reveals that her bedroom offered her a place that gave her autonomy and a degree of control over how things were set up. Later, Georgia told me that she had posters of her favourite bands and celebrity crushes on her bedroom walls. Other young people stated how they got to choose the colours of their bedroom walls as a way to personalise their space and make it their own (Fig 12). Some young people noted that this gave them a sense of belonging because they were able to express themselves and have a sense of control and influence in the place.



Figure 12 Participant's bedroom (taken by Alex, 18)

Beyond the bedroom, a number of other places in the homes were important for the participants. For, Rikki, 13, one of her favourite places at her home was the garage, because it was where she practised her drums. She noted how drumming was something she was quite good at and practising and getting better made her really happy. As a result, the garage had become a supportive place for her. Alex, 18, noted how she had a special place in her garden where, during summer, she set up a hammock set that became an important place where she could reflect and listen to music. She described how she would sit out there and push against the tree in her garden, take time out and relax. The supportive nature of these places within the home relates to young people having places where they can do things they enjoy (i.e. supportive place behaviours) and can take time out.

Social Dimension

There was also a social dimension that contributed to making home a supportive place for young people. Most young people noted their families as being a significant part of home. Some participants' descriptions of home revolved around their family. Many young people described how their parents and family made home a safe place and gave them a sense of belonging. For example, Alex, 18, stated,

Mum and dad make it feel like it's a really safe environment and that nothing bad is going to happen there. Like it's safe.

Alex's response reveals that her parents offered a sense of safety and security for her. Many young people talked about their connection to their families as being a fundamental part of their experience of home.

Overall, the supportive nature of home was something that was generated by young people as they made places within their home, like their bedrooms, and personalised them. In doing this, young people created places that were significant to them and that demonstrated their identity and interests. This helped some young people feel a sense of belonging in their home. Additionally, the personalisation of space also enabled young people to express themselves and their identity in creative ways that transformed their bedroom or space in their house into a supportive place. The positive benefits associated with making or personalising one's own space seemed to help make home a supportive place.

Supportive Place #2: Kaiapoi High School

Kaiapoi High School was also experienced by a number of young people as being a supportive place that offered them a sense of belonging. A few young people also mentioned that it was a place where they felt welcomed. The supportive nature of Kaiapoi High School arose from two dimensions: symbolic and social. However, the social dimensions were arguably more significant for young people.

Symbolic Dimension

Many young people noted that Kaiapoi High School offered them a sense of belonging. For some, this sense of belonging arose from the symbolism attached to wearing the school uniform. For example, Sarah, 15, described,

Ok, well when we were at [primary school], me and my friend would always bike home...And always on a Wednesday, it would be the worst day of the week because high school people finished at 2.30pm and we'd be so scared because we'd be biking down the road and we'd be 'oh my gosh, there's Kaiapoi High people', they were so scary and so much older and stuff. And sometimes you'd have to like go on the bridge and you'd bike behind them and then sometimes they'd say stuff to you. But once you came into Kaiapoi High, like if you're wearing the uniform they're just, everyone just kind of ignores you. Like they just leave you alone. But when we were from Kaiapoi Borough they were like 'oh you're from Borough'...so you're kind of like a part of the school if you're wearing the uniform.

Sarah's response reveals that the Kaiapoi High School uniform offered her a sense of belonging, acceptance and inclusion into the place. It also demonstrates that a sense of belonging does not necessarily have to come from personal connections and relationships but can arise from being anonymous. Sarah notes how after wearing the Kaiapoi High School uniform she no longer stuck out or was the subject of remarks because she was wearing the same uniform. By wearing the uniform she was passively accepted by others at school and blended into the environment.

Here we can see how the dimensions of place interact and how experiences of place can involve multiple dimensions. In this example the symbolic and social factors are interacting when Sarah describes the symbolism associated with wearing the uniform, and also the social acceptance she gained from wearing it.

Social Dimension

Kaiapoi High School was also a supportive place for many young people because it was a place that facilitated and reinforced young people's social relationships with their peers, and provided opportunities for young people to be involved in different groups and teams. Of the young people who described Kaiapoi High School as a place where they gained a sense of belonging, all of them noted that this was partly the result of knowing people and having friends at school. Young people in Year 9 and 10 (13-15 years old) described how their friend group was often made up of friends from primary school and some new friends from high school. For young people in higher year levels, particularly Year 13 (17-18 year olds), friend groups often extended to include the entire year group. Because of this, many of these young people enjoyed going to school because it gave them the chance to hang out with their friends on a daily basis. In fact, some young people remarked that they looked forward to going back to school after the holidays because they missed seeing their friends each day. Additionally, the Year 13s (17-18 year olds) noted that seeing their friends on a daily basis was one thing they were going to miss after leaving high school.

Some young people commented on the community vibe of the school that contributed to it being a supportive place for some young people. When describing what she liked about the school, Hayley, 17, commented,

Um the family feeling you get when you're there. Like in the first few years it's a bit rocky but when you work out who you get along with and you know what pushes other people around and you know you get your structure and then you just feel this real community feeling. And you can see it more as you get older and are a senior student, and you can just get along with all the students...I guess sometimes people focus on the negatives a bit too much, like they'll just pick the negatives out of school and they don't look at the positives like what's actually going on. Like even just walking down the corridor and someone holds the door open for you, like that's a bit of community feeling.

Hayley's response reveals a pattern expressed by many young people in the study that the first few years at Kaiapoi High School are a bit rough, but as a young person gets further on in the school they have a greater sense of community and belonging. A number of Year 10s (14 & 15 year olds) described how during their first year at the high school, they were often afraid of older students and teachers, but after a year and no longer being the youngest at the school they enjoyed the place more and felt more connected to it.

Additionally, Hayley's response also indicates that in order to enjoy the positive aspects of the place, like the sense of community, it requires young people to look beyond some of the problems that may exist at the school. Many young people described how Kaiapoi High School did not have the best reputation within the area. A lot of young people took on this identity and write off the school as being a place they had to be but did not enjoy. However, Hayley's response suggests, and other participants shared this view, that there was a positive sense of community that was present at Kaiapoi High School as people acted considerately and showed respect to others.

The last aspect of the social dimension was that the school offered opportunities for young people to participate in groups and clubs. A large number of young people in the study described that they were part of different groups at the school. These included sports teams such as hockey, soccer, volleyball and basketball, student council, debating and drama club. Many young people commented on how being involved in different groups and teams helped to develop their sense of belonging at school because they got to know more people in the school. These opportunities were also seen as being important because it gave young people the chance to socialise with people outside of their peer group, as well as teachers. A few noted how they could walk around school during lunchtime and say 'hey' to the different people they knew.

Overall, the supportive nature of the high school was something that was generated by the young people. Kaiapoi High School became a supportive place for many young people as they developed friendships with peers and participated in school life. It was one of the main settings for many young

people to socialise with their peers. However without these social relationships, the high school would likely not be a supportive place, as is explored later on in the chapter. Therefore, it is mainly the social relationships generated by young people and the sense of community and belonging these provide that made Kaiapoi High School a supportive place for many people.

Supportive Place #3: Church

Another supportive place for many young people in this study was church.³ Participants referred to two local churches in particular: Kaiapoi Baptist Church and Highway Church (Fig 13 & 14). For half of the photovoice participants, church was a place where they felt welcomed, happy or had a sense of belonging. For these young people, church was a place that they enjoyed going to for a number of different reasons including youth group, community meals, and Sunday services. Positive social connections at the churches led young people to develop a sense of community, feel a part of something and get involved.



Figure 13 Kaiapoi Baptist Church (taken by Katie, 17)

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- 3 We are likely seeing this finding due to the method of recruitment I used for this project. A number of young people were recruited from a local faith-based youth group I am involved with and were therefore affiliated with the church. As a result, while church has been described as a supportive place for many young people in this study, this finding is not likely to represent the view held by the wider youth population in Kaiapoi.



Figure 14 Highway Church (taken by Katie, 17)

Social Dimension

Many young people noted that at church, specifically the youth group at Kaiapoi Baptist Church, there was a friendly and welcoming atmosphere where people were friendly, kind, nice, respectful of new people and non-judgemental. These characteristics were seen by many participants as important in making youth group a welcoming place where they wanted to be. Michael, 14, who had only recently started going to youth group, described how he felt like the group did not judge him based on things they may have heard about him, but instead accepted him into the group. Additionally, Amy, 14, noted,

Um at youth group I'm always welcomed there...everyone wants you there.

Amy's response reveals another important characteristic of the youth group was that young people may have a sense of being wanted, whereby they may feel a sense of acceptance, companionship and friendship from others there.

Friendships with others at church contributed to the supportive nature of the place. Many participants mentioned how they had a lot of friends at youth group. As a result youth group was an

important hang out spot, as they were able to see their friends and have fun together. For many participants, their friends at youth group were a combination of friends from school and others who went to different schools. This meant that youth group was a time where they could catch up and socialise with some of their friends who they did not see on a regular basis at school. This was particularly important for one girl, Katie, 17, who had left school and was completing a course of study in Christchurch. She noted how youth group was one of the only places where she got to hang with her friends who lived in Kaiapoi (she did not see them as much having left school and now studying in the city). Many young people described their friendships at youth group as being one of their favourite things about the place and the reason they chose to photograph it. This supports the work by Mason and Korpela (2008) who demonstrated that the social dimensions of a place are often what makes it significant for young people. Furthermore, many noted how youth group also provided them with a sense of community that they felt a part of. This reinforces the significance of social relationships for young people as providing support and a feeling of being connected (Jose & Pryor, 2010; Hill et al., 2007).

Aside from youth group, other activities at the churches such as Sunday services and events supported by the churches (i.e. the Light Party and community meals) also contributed to the supportive nature of the places. A few young people noted how they had grown up in the church or had started attending when they were young and so adults at church knew who they were. In addition to being known by people, Sunday services also provided some young people the opportunities to be involved. For example, Rikki, 13, described how she was part of the music team and derived satisfaction from being part of the team. These two aspects of church made some young people feel like they belonged in the place because people knew their names, talked to them and they felt as though they were contributing to the place. Events supported by the churches also provided opportunities for young people to be involved. For example, Jared, 16, described how his association with Kaiapoi Baptist Church gave him the chances to help organise and volunteer in different events such as the Light Party (an event developed as a Christian alternative to Halloween).

These activities, like youth group, also provided young people with a sense of community that they enjoyed being a part of and the feeling as though they were 'part of something that was bigger than just themselves' (Katie, 17).

Similar to Kaiapoi High School, the supportive nature of church for young people was also something that was generated in part by young people. Church, in particular youth group, was described by many young people as a place where they would see their friends and hang out. Again, church was the setting for young people to socialise with their friends.

It is important to note that while church was a supportive place for many of the young people in the study, many of the young people were recruited via the local church I am connected to. Therefore, while church was a supportive place for young people connected to the church it is unlikely to be considered a supportive place for the wider youth population in Kaiapoi who do not have any association with the place.

Supportive Place #4: Parks and Reserves

The final supportive place for many young people was a range of parks and reserves, including Rhododendron Park, the Kaiapoi Domain, the Kaiapoi Lakes, and Kaiapoi River and stop bank. For half of the photovoice participants, these places made them feel happy and safe. And for a few, these places were among their favourite in Kaiapoi. The supportive nature of these places arose from their physical, social and symbolic dimensions. Each of these dimensions supported the different needs of young people: they were places with natural features and beauty to be enjoyed, they were places that facilitated positive socialising between young people, and they were also places where some young people could take time out.

Physical Dimension

When describing these places, young people often emphasized their physical dimensions, particularly in relation to the natural environment. Every young person who selected a park and/or

reserve as a supportive place in Kaiapoi mentioned how they valued and enjoyed the natural environment of these places. For example, in describing one of her favourite places in Kaiapoi, Hayley, 17, said,

I like it because the stop bank's there you can't see the houses or anything because you sit lower and you've got all the nature...you can hear the river...There's long grass. It's not always mown and so it's just nice and yeah.

Similarly other young people described how the views, particularly of the river, and plants and scenery at the different places were beautiful and created a great atmosphere that encouraged young people to frequently use these places (Fig 15). Additionally, Hayley's response also reveals that part of the importance of these places is not being able to see any of the built environment.



Figure 15 Kaiapoi River (taken by Alex, 18)

Another aspect of the natural environments of these places was its impact on young people's moods. Some participants explained that when they were feeling low they sought out the river or their local park to make themselves feel better. For example, Alex, 18, described how for her, Kaiapoi River had a calming effect whereby if she felt upset she would go for a walk to, and along the river and it would calm her down. Similarly, Rachel, 17, discussed how when she felt anxious or upset she would walk along a walkway in her favourite park and it would calm her down. Whether this effect is solely due to the natural environment is difficult to posit given the nature of this project. However, in light of the therapeutic landscapes and environmental psychology literature, it is likely that the natural environment and green spaces along with other things such as exercise, taking time out and thinking contribute to this effect described by young people (e.g. Kaplan, 1995; Ulrich et al., 1991).

The final aspect of this dimension of place was the idea that many of the parks and reserves in Kaiapoi did not sustain noticeable changes from the earthquakes. This was significant for many young people, given that earthquake damage was seen as a negative aspect of many places in Kaiapoi (see discussion below). A few young people commented on how places like the Kaiapoi Lakes (Fig 16) and to a certain degree the domain remained the same after an event that caused so much change elsewhere. In describing the lakes, Natasha, 19, noted,

It's surreal when you stand in these places and you're like it's such a big event and it didn't even look like it happened, you know. Because there's probably not many places you could go where you can't really see that.

This was considered a positive aspect of these places and in some cases contributed to some young people having a sense of safety in these places.



Figure 16 Kaiapoi Lakes (taken by Natasha, 19)

Social Dimension

Many young people also noted that parks and reserves provided places to hang out with their friends. For some young people, their local park (Fig 17), offered them a place where they could socialise with their friends, play sports, sit on the swings at the playground and talk. For these participants, the park was a common and frequently used place to spend time with friends. Other young people described how other places like the Kaiapoi Domain, the Kaiapoi River and the Kaiapoi Lakes were also places that they hung out at with their friends. They noted that these places made it easy to meet up with their friends, because in many instances they were within walking distance for young people. Some participants noted that despite not having many places for young people to hang out in Kaiapoi, these were some of their favourite places to go with their friends. When asked why that was, many of the young people stated that it was because they were close by and easy to get to.



Figure 17 A young person's local park, Hinemoa Park (taken by Carmen, 16)

Symbolic Dimension

Another important dimension of these places for young people was the symbolism and meaning attached to them. The responses from many young people demonstrated that many attached certain meanings, such as seclusion, alone time and privacy, to these places. Many young people described how local parks and reserves offered them places to go to take time out and think and reflect without distractions. There was one park in particular that was mentioned by a number of participants: Rhododendron Park (Fig 18). This place was described as somewhere where they could go when they wanted to chill out, relax and get away from people. Figure 19 illustrates how young people might use the place. Some participants noted how not many people knew about the park and how people could not see much of the park from the road. Therefore it was a private and secluded place. The seclusion and privacy of the park became a significant feature of the place as it meant that they could have alone time, listen to music, collect their thoughts and for some smoke without being watched and/or judged by adults and other young people. For many young people this made them

feel happy in the place while for others it made them feel safe. This contrasts previous work that has argued that young people are at risk in places like these where adults cannot see them (e.g. Griffin, 1993).



Figure 18 Rhododendron Park (taken by Hayley, 17)



Figure 19 A young person's favourite place in Rhododendron Park (taken by Rachel, 17)

Overall, the supportive nature of the parks and reserves was something that was generated by young people. The supportive nature of parks and reserves relates to the natural environment. The natural environment was something that was characteristic of these places and was valued and enjoyed by many young people. There has been research that suggests the natural environment has a positive effect on people. For example, researchers such as Kaplan (1995) and Ulrich et al. (1991) argue that experiencing nature has an important role on people's psychological and emotional wellbeing. Similarly, research has demonstrated how the natural features of places can have a restorative effect on young people. For example, Owens and McKinnon (2009) found that young people enjoyed having places where they could escape from their day-to-day lives and relax in beautiful and natural places. This demonstrates the significance of these places for young people and suggests that the positive benefits of natural features, such as taking time out or feeling happier, make them supportive places.

As discussed above, the supportive nature of the parks and reserves for young people also relates to the social relationships and individual use of the places. These places provided a setting for young people to hang out and socialise with their friends. Additionally, these places offered young people opportunities to take time out. As a result these places were embedded with meaning and their supportiveness was generated by the activities that young people were able to do in these places.

Unsupportive Place #1: Kaiapoi High School

As described above, unsupportive places refer to places where young people have had negative experiences and have negative emotions attached to the place. They are also likely to be places where young people do not enjoy going. In this study, there were two places that were commonly mentioned by young people as being places they did not enjoy: Kaiapoi High School and areas in Kaiapoi where there was earthquake damage. Despite being a supportive place for many participants, Kaiapoi High School was also described as being an unsupportive place by other participants. For these young people, the high school was a place where they felt excluded and/or

sad. The unsupportive nature of the place for these young people related mainly to the social dimension.

Social Dimension

Some young people felt as though they did not fit in at Kaiapoi High School or have a sense of belonging. This differs significantly from the experiences of many other young people who described that they had a sense of belonging at the school (see above). Some of the young people described how they struggled to get along with people at the school. One participant, who had moved to Kaiapoi High School after the earthquakes, described how she was only able to stay at the school for six months because people made her feel excluded which made it a hard place to be there.

Additionally, another young person discussed her experience of going from being really popular to not having many friends after she began having health issues. She noted that due to this her friends did not talk to her as much as they used to which made her feel isolated in an environment where she used to feel comfortable. These two examples reveal that for some young people, social relationships at school are not something that is easy and can result in negative feelings of exclusion and isolation.

The social dimension related to both the difficult social relationships with peers as well as difficult relationships with teachers. A few young people described how they often got into trouble with teachers. Additionally, one young person who had experienced some serious health issues during the year noted how teachers treated her differently. She described how they talked down to her, like an adult would speak to a small child, which made her frustrated. These examples again reveal that the positive experiences of school are not universally shared by all young people. Instead there are some young people for whom school is a place where they struggle.

While these are the experiences of the minority of young people in this study, it was important to share these as it offers an important insight into the way places are experienced differently by young people. Gesler (2003) describes the healing properties of places differ from person to person and

place to place. In this sense, the different dimensions of a place may be supportive for one person but unsupportive for another. For instance, in this study, the social dimension of the high school was seen as a positive for many young people whereas for some it was negative. And from young people's different experiences at school, the same place (Kaiapoi High School) simultaneously held a number of different meanings. Overall, the unsupportive nature of the school related to the difficulty some young people had making friends and fitting in at school.

Unsupportive Place #2: Earthquake Damaged Areas

Another unsupportive place for some young people in Kaiapoi were the areas in the town that had suffered earthquake damage. For the most part, these places made some young people feel really sad and at times excluded. The unsupportive nature of these places related to the physical dimension, particularly the damage to the built environment.

Physical Dimension

A number of young people commented on how places like the Blackwell's Department Store, residential areas such as Courtney Downs, the roads, the library and other shops suffered extensive damage after the earthquakes. They noted how many of these places, particularly in the residential areas had become derelict with graffiti, broken windows, cracked houses, and unmown grass (Fig 20 & 21).



Figure 20 Courtney Downs area (taken by Ryan, 15)



Figure 21 A damaged house in the red zone (taken by Sarah, 15)

When describing where he used to live, Ryan, 15, commented,

Courtney Drive was the place that I used to live in and after the earthquake it just got really destroyed and now it's just really empty. And there's a lot of properties have got over grown grass. And it's just a place that used to look really nice and now it's just nothing really.

Ryan's response demonstrates a view shared by other young people that the earthquake damaged areas were places that some young people tried to avoid. Part of this avoidance behaviour was due to the different feelings that young people experienced as they encountered these places. For example, some described how seeing the damaged homes, roads and shops made them feel sad because of the impact the earthquakes had on people's lives and the built environment of the town. For some young people, they experienced sadness when reflecting on how the damaged environment had become normal to them. For example, William, 18, described,

It's all the same thing like I can't remember what it looked like and that sort of makes me sad especially when you hear people talking about it as well, about what it used to be like and I'm just like 'I have no idea, this is what it is to me'.

Young people also spoke of a sense of loss, experienced mainly in connection with buildings or places, such as the skate park, BMX track and library that had been damaged beyond repair and therefore demolished. Some participants described how this impacted where they hung out and what they did with their friends because those had been key places for them. As described earlier in this chapter, some young people had found alternative places to continue to hang out with friends and skate, scooter and cycle. Nevertheless there was still a sense of loss in relation to these facilities which had been damaged and demolished after the earthquakes. Overall, it is likely that residential areas, shops and the library may have been places young people enjoyed going to or living in prior to the earthquakes. But instead, they have become unsupportive places that young people do not enjoy spending time in or cannot spend time in as a result of the sudden changes by the earthquakes.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored young people's experiences and use of Kaiapoi's environment. It began by investigating the widely held view that there is 'nothing to do' in Kaiapoi. While this view was expressed by young people in both the photovoice activity and the survey, it was problematised as young people also revealed a range of local activities and places of significance to them within Kaiapoi. As a result, it is likely that the view that there is 'nothing to do' has become internalised into the identity of the town and has become an automatic response for many young people when describing the town.

The findings also highlighted that young people in Kaiapoi are using different places in the town in creative ways and employing strategies to make those places meaningful. The interviews revealed that young people were creatively making use of different places in Kaiapoi in response to the loss of places due to the earthquakes and also because there are not many places in Kaiapoi for young people. As result, places like Memorial Park, playgrounds and parks have become significant sites for young people. A variety of strategies were employed to make the places meaningful. Some were based on their trickability (the opportunities in places to practise tricks on a skate board, scooter or bike) and privacy and space from adults, but also by transforming currently unused spaces into meaningful places. These strategies reveal both the agency of young people to navigate their environment and create places of significance, but also the diverse way in which young people made use of the environment to meet their needs.

In addition to the strategies and creative use of the Kaiapoi environment, young people also had emotional experiences in different places in Kaiapoi. Some experienced places such as their home, Kaiapoi High School, church and parks and reserves as supportive places and the site of positive experiences. In these places young people described how they felt happy, safe, included, welcomed, and like they belonged. The supportive nature of each of these places arose from a combination of their social, symbolic and physical dimensions. However, it was the social dimension of the place that

was most commonly mentioned by young people. In fact, it was the only dimension to be described as significant in every place designated as supportive. While the physical and symbolic dimensions were also important, it seems that hanging out and socialising with friends and spending time with family were more important aspects of places for young people. This echoes the findings from Nairn, Panelli and McCormack (2003) who discovered that the social aspect of place was a key factor for young people.

Finally, the findings also highlighted that there were two commonly mentioned places in Kaiapoi where young people did not have positive experiences. Some young people experienced Kaiapoi High School and the earthquake damaged areas in Kaiapoi as unsupportive places and as places that they did not enjoy going to. In these places, young people noted how they felt excluded, sad, isolated and unsafe. For the high school, the unsupportive nature of the place related to the social dimension, whereby some participants described how they felt like they did not fit in, isolated and excluded in the place. In contrast, the unsupportive nature of the earthquake damaged areas related to the physical dimension, whereby some young people described how they felt sad and sometimes unsafe when they saw the damage.

Overall, this chapter provides valuable insight into the complex, creative and diverse ways young people encounter, experience and use Kaiapoi's post-quake environments.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Introduction

The findings of this study highlight the diversity and complexity of young people in Kaiapoi and their experiences in and of the town. Despite commonly being constructed as a single category by the wider public, no two young people are the same. As both the literature and the findings suggest, a universal understanding of young people that constructs young people in a generalised way is problematic. Instead it is important to recognise the nuance and diversity that often exist in young people's identities. Similarly in understanding that there is no 'one' construction of young people, the same must be said for their experiences in place. No two young people will experience a place in the same way. Different groups of young people use different places in different ways and therefore have different experiences of these places. Additionally, as young people interact with the various aspects or dimensions of places, such as the physical (natural and built), symbolic and social, these may come to mean different things for different individuals.

This chapter summarises and evaluates the findings from this research. I review the key findings and then briefly discuss the implications of the research, particularly in relation to existing youth-related initiatives in Kaiapoi and potential initiatives or projects. Finally, I reflect on the research process and describe some of the challenges I faced and offer some suggestions regarding potential future research projects.

Main Findings

This research sought to understand the experiences of young people in Kaiapoi, and how they negotiated the local environment to meet their social and emotional needs. There were two main research questions:

1. What are the discourses that adults and young people in Kaiapoi have about youth in the town?

2. How do local young people inhabit and experience the Kaiapoi town environment?

a. What emotions and experiences are associated with particular sites?

b. How are young people creatively making use of the environment? Why?

Addressing question 1 entailed exploring the different ways in which young people were constructed by the media, adults and other young people. In doing this, it was hoped that we might better understand the discursive environment that Kaiapoi young people found themselves negotiating. Question 2 addressed the different ways in which young people use their local environment, with a particular focus on their creative use of the environment, and also the emotional connections that might arise as they experience different places. The aim was to develop a richer understanding of the complexity of young people's experiences of place. These research questions guided the development of the research design and methodology. A mixed method approach was used, combining quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis. Specific research techniques included media analysis, interviews with key informants, surveys and a photovoice activity. Each of these techniques provided valuable insights and results for the project, generating three key findings about young people's lives in Kaiapoi.

Multiple Understandings of Young People Exist in Kaiapoi but Dominant Views are Circulated

Firstly, the study revealed that young people are constructed in different ways by adults and each other. These constructions often intersect, circulate and at times clash within Kaiapoi's discursive environment.

The analysis of local media articles revealed that media representations of young people were predominantly negative, particularly in relation to young people's behaviour in public space. Articles frequently represented local young people associated with criminal, disorderly and drunken behaviour. These narratives of crime, disorder and drunkenness were the dominant ways young

people in Kaiapoi were portrayed in local media. Such portrayals echoed the findings of other researchers, such as Sibley (1995), who argued that young people are often constructed as a polluting presence in public space. Panelli et al. (2002a) found similar negative portrayals of young people in local media in Otago, New Zealand.

It was also revealed, by the key informants, that local adults who did not work with young people ('negative constructors') typically held negative views of young people, similar to those found in local media. These negative views seem to arise in part from a lack of understanding about young people, due in part to a lack of personal association with them. It was suggested that these adults often relied on assumptions, media, past incidents and on the odd occasion personal experience to inform their views about young people. They also tended to generalise the meanings and constructions associated with particular problematic individuals to young people as a wider group.

The findings also revealed other adults (those who worked with young people/ 'nuanced understanders') with different and sometimes more positive understandings of young people. The diversity of views was notable however. Some described young people as friendly, down to earth and resilient, while others saw young people as challenging of authority, or as lazy. These constructions suggest that not all young people in Kaiapoi are the same, but are instead a diverse group of people with different views, behaviours, and experiences that can be understood as a single category. Participants demonstrated an understanding of the nuance and differences that exist between young people.

The research also explored how young people perceive and construct each other. Many of the characterisations young people held of themselves and their peers were closely related to the different cliques that were perceived within Kaiapoi. For example, young people described the 'ruffians' or rough kids, the 'nerds', the 'slutty' group and the 'car enthusiasts'. These characterisations showed how young people actively mark the differences between themselves and

others through stereotyping and grouping individuals. This finding mirrors the work of Vanderbeck & Dunkley (2004), who examined how young people categorise other young people.

Despite these diverse understandings of young people, it became clear from survey results and responses from adults and young people that the constructions created by the 'negative constructors', or the adults who did not work with young people, were the most widely circulated within Kaiapoi. In contrast, the views of the 'nuanced understanders', or those adults who worked with young people, and even more so, young people's views, did not seem to circulate as widely or as powerfully as the 'negative constructors' views. As a result, the more positive and nuanced views of young people, particularly those held by young people themselves, were marginalised within the wider discursive environment in Kaiapoi.

Young People Creatively Use Kaiapoi's Environment

Secondly, the research highlighted how young people use different places in Kaiapoi in creative ways and employ different strategies to create meaningful places within the town. The interviews, following the photovoice activity, revealed that young people creatively make use of different places in Kaiapoi (particularly in response to the loss of places due to the earthquakes and also because there are not many places for young people in the town). For example, with the loss of the skate park in Kaiapoi, young people found another place that they have made into a makeshift skate park, Memorial Park, by using the paving and ledges to practise their tricks. This provided young people with a place where those interested in skating and scootering could hang out.

Playgrounds and parks were also identified as being significant places for many young people. The interviews revealed that participants, particularly girls aged 13-15 years old, would use local parks with playgrounds to hang out with their friends. It was noted that they went to the playgrounds with friends to hang out and actually use the playgrounds for recreation and fun by using the swings. In contrast, older teenagers (16-18 year olds) described how parks, particularly those without playgrounds, were important places for them. The absence of playgrounds was described as being

important given their desire for places that were private, quiet and where they could take time out. This reveals that older teenagers may have different needs than younger teenagers, for example a greater need for independence and sense of autonomy.

Finally, the results showed that some young people were using spaces that may seem insignificant to others and transforming them into important places. The interviews revealed that a number of young people used 'the hedge' as a hang out spot and enjoyed spending time there with their friends. Some young people also used the hedge to hide their smoking and drinking behaviour from others. Additionally, it was also mentioned that some young people enjoyed taking part in parkour, an activity whereby the roofs of buildings and other aspects of the built environment are used recreationally for physical adventuring. Given that this activity involved trespassing, there was a definite illegality and boundary pushing to it, and as a result young people carefully selected when they do parkour. Both of these ways that young people use space demonstrate some of the strategies young people employed to negotiate and use places. By finding places where their behaviour could not be seen or by selecting certain times to do activities, young people actively created places of meaning and significance.

The ways in which young people use the Kaiapoi environment reveals both the agency of young people to navigate the environment and create places of significance but also the diversity of young people to use the environment in different ways to meet their needs. This reinforces Vanderbeck and Dunkley's (2004) notion that young people are not passive receivers of prescribed social roles and rules, but instead exercise agency and find their place within their community and use public space in creative ways.

Young People's Emotional Experiences of Place and Conceptualising Supportive and Unsupportive Places

Thirdly, the research illustrated how there was an emotional dimension to young people's experiences of and in different places in Kaiapoi. The way that places made a young person feel impacted their use of different places in Kaiapoi. Within the photovoice activity there were a number of places that were commonly identified as being positive for young people (i.e. places where young people experienced positive emotions like feeling welcomed, a sense of belonging, or happiness). There were also some places that young people considered to be negative (i.e. where they experienced feelings of sadness, a sense of exclusion, and a lack of safety). From this, in conjunction with the therapeutic landscapes and place attachment literature, the concepts of supportive and unsupportive places were coined to better understand young people's emotional experiences of places. The results showed that as young people interacted, to varying degrees, with the physical (built and natural), symbolic and social aspects of places that they experienced different feelings or emotions.

Many young people in the project described places such as home, high school, church and parks and reserves in positive terms, as supportive places. This finding supports the work of many youth researchers who have identified home, natural settings and hang out spots, that foster social relationships and positive activities, as being some of the places young people prefer (e.g. Korpela, 1992; Skelton & Valentine, 1998; Matthews & Limb, 1999). In these places young people described how they felt happy, safe, included, welcomed, and like they belonged. The results illustrated how young people interacted with the physical, symbolic and social dimensions of each of the places, however, the social dimension was emphasised most. Spending time with family and socialising with friends were important aspects of places for young people, as particularly when this contributed to feelings of safety, belonging and inclusion.

The findings also highlighted that there were some places in Kaiapoi where young people did not have positive experiences, such as Kaiapoi High School and the earthquake damaged areas around the town. These places could be considered unsupportive, as some young people felt excluded, sad, isolated and unsafe when in them. As a result, they did not enjoy going to the high school or damaged areas. It was noted that the main reason for the high school being an unsupportive place for some young people related to social dimension, in particular how some young people felt like they did not fit in at school and felt isolated, and sometimes excluded. The earthquake damaged areas in Kaiapoi were also described in negative terms, as the damage to the physical environment made them feel sad and unsafe.

Where To From Here?

In light of this research, it is important to consider the ways that these findings might facilitate discussions about what might be done to make Kaiapoi a more supportive place for young people, particularly in relation to the views and attitudes about them, but also in relation to places for them to go. In this section I will briefly discuss some initiatives that are currently underway in the town and also suggest some potential ideas that may also facilitate positive outcomes for young people and the wider Kaiapoi community.

The results from this project reveal that there are adults in Kaiapoi who construct young people as having negative characteristics. As discussed in Chapter 4, these attitudes often arose from a lack of understanding and a lack of engagement with young people. The results also showed that the negative views of young people were the more widely and strongly circulated ideas, despite many other views existing in Kaiapoi. As a result, the negative views have, and continue to be, the dominant attitudes held by many people in Kaiapoi, while the more positive views remain contained and marginalised. In order to address this imbalance of representation there needs to be opportunities where young people and the 'nuance understanders' can share their views of young people and the issues they are facing.

One such opportunity that has recently been created is the Waimakariri Youth Council, whereby young people aged between 12-24 years old can provide input, consultation and a youth perspective on various projects, initiatives or ideas. This group has the potential to challenge the generalised and negative constructions often associated with young people within a context that has only recently started actively engaging with young people. It also has the potential to create a culture of seeing young people as valuable contributors. Beyond the youth council, there seems to be few other groups that actively include young people as members in Kaiapoi. I suggest that different community groups should engage with and invite young people to be a part of their groups and provide them with opportunities to have a positive impact on the community, for example by volunteering at community events, or taking part in community art projects. By seeing the work of young people, the 'negative constructors' in the community may be challenged to rethink their attitudes and views towards young people.

In addition to challenging the dominant views, there are some initiatives that have been set up to create positive places for young people in Kaiapoi. Firstly, there have been a number of different faith-based and non faith-based youth groups working in Kaiapoi that have provided places for young people to go and hang out for a couple of hours each week. However these groups have dissolved in recent times for various reasons, such as a lack of volunteers. There are however two groups, Kaiapoi Baptist Church Youth Group and WAIYouth, that have started up in the last three years and provide a place for young people to hang out. As shown by the photovoice activity, these groups were valued highly by young people and offered them the opportunity to build positive relationships with their peers and develop friendships. Another initiative is 24-7, a youth work initiative that places youth workers into local high schools to build relationships with young people and contribute positively to the school environment. This initiative has been recently introduced at Kaiapoi High School, whereby there are three youth workers who connect with young people who are struggling at school. It is hoped that through these relationships that young people, who may find school an unsupportive

place, like some in this study, may begin to find it a more positive and possibly a supportive place for them.

Additionally, with the loss of some recreational areas due to the earthquakes, there is the rebuilding of the skate park that is going to be part of a recreational precinct in Kaiapoi in Trousselot Park. This space will host a range of different activities for young people to participate in, in addition to the skate park, such as a basketball court. Importantly, in designing this space, particularly the skate park, the Waimakariri Council consulted with some young people to ensure that the designers were aware of what young people wanted in the skate park. While the construction of this space is yet to begin, the processes behind developing this space incorporated the views of some young people and will hopefully become a positive hang out spot for many young people in Kaiapoi.

Finally, throughout this project, a number of participants, both young people and adults, mentioned how they would love to see the development of a designated youth space in Kaiapoi. A number of the adult key informants described how this would contribute significantly to young people in Kaiapoi. Many described how such a space could be a shared-use community centre, whereby during the day the building could be used by the community, mothers and children and the older population, but in the afternoon it could become a youth zone where young people could go. Some described how this kind of space could provide practical support for young people, for example it could be a place where they could learn to write a CV, apply for jobs, do their homework, but also be a social place where they could spend time with their friends and peers. This shows that participants had a mixture of ideas as to what a youth space should be (i.e. a mixed use space, a space offering practical support to young people or a social space), therefore it seems more discussion is required in order to fully understand what people in Kaiapoi want a youth space to be like. Furthermore, in light of the results from this study, when designing and developing a youth space care needs to be taken to consider the different dimensions of place that young people might encounter if they were to use it. The physical (built and natural), symbolic and social dimensions of places are important to

consider to ensure that the youth space is a supportive and positive place for young people in Kaiapoi. For example does it look cool? Does it have a good design? Does it feel safe? Is it a place young people can feel proud of? Would young people want to hang out with their friends here? Additionally, involving young people in every stage of the development of a youth space would also help ensure that it becomes a place that young people can feel a sense of ownership, pride and belonging.

However in saying this, it is important to reiterate that although certain places can be considered supportive and unsupportive for young people, we cannot assume that these places will be supportive or unsupportive for *all* young people. As discussed above, the young people in Kaiapoi are a diverse group of people who use places and spaces in different ways. Therefore care needs to be taken when taking action to ensure that this diversity is not overlooked or ignored.

Future Research

This project has provided some insight into the different ways young people in Kaiapoi are constructed and the ways they use and experience different places in the town. In doing so it highlights how people often try to make sense of and understand other people by constructing meanings about them. The study also revealed how young people have creativity and agency in their everyday relations in places. One of the strengths of this project was that it drew upon a wide range of different sources, including the media, adult key informants and young people of various ages. This allowed for an in-depth and multi-faceted investigation of young people living in Kaiapoi. The research techniques were tailored to each group of participants and helped obtain information of a high quality. However, one issue that I faced during this study was finding, and recruiting, male youth from the older teenager group (16-18 year olds) involved in the photovoice activity. After approaching a range of different groups at the high school and community (for example, different sports club and school council), I ended up recruiting two male youth from this group. This was a limitation to the study. Part of this may be due to the nature of the project (i.e. the focus on

emotional experiences) and male youth perhaps being less aware of the emotional dimensions of their experiences in places or less eager to share them compared with female youth. As a result many male youth I tried to recruit did not feel they would contribute much to the project or did not want to be part of it. While the two older male youth had different experiences to other young people in the project, a greater number of male youth from the older teenage group would have offered more insight into the different ways young people use and experience places in Kaiapoi. Therefore, future research would serve well to add more depth to our understanding of young people in Kaiapoi. Aside from research involving male youth, there are two main topics that I think would be interesting to explore in light of this project.

Firstly, while this project has discussed the nature and different dimensions of supportive and unsupportive places for young people, it was unable to clearly articulate how the different places actually enabled, encouraged, or discouraged activities or behaviours (i.e. the mechanisms for making places supportive or unsupportive). As discussed earlier, part of this may have been due to the difficulty young people had in articulating their experiences in different places beyond describing what they did in those places. In light of this, I think there is scope to further explore the concepts of supportive and unsupportive places for young people, with a particular focus of the mechanisms that make places supportive or unsupportive.

Secondly, part of this project has explored the emotional experiences young people have in different places in the town. It revealed that some places are experienced positively and are supportive to some young people. In light of this, I think there is the opportunity to extend this discussion of supportive and unsupportive places by considering the relationships between place, young people's experiences of place and young people's overall wellbeing. A number of key informants noted how there were some young people in Kaiapoi suffering from anxiety, depression and suicidal thoughts. I think there is scope for research to further explore the relationship between place and the lives of young people in Kaiapoi.

Concluding Remarks

The different ways young people are constructed and the different experiences they have of places reflects the diversity and complexity of young people's lives in Kaiapoi. By investigating the multiple constructions of young people in Kaiapoi, this research has revealed that negative constructions remain the most commonly and widely circulated despite other, more positive constructions existing among some adults and young people in the town. Additionally, this project has demonstrated young people creatively make use of places and create places of meaning that may challenge or be overlooked by adults. Finally, this study suggests a new way of thinking about young people's connections with, and experiences of, places by considering the role of emotions. With an understanding about the role of emotions in young people's experiences and uses of places, we begin to see just how multi-faceted and complex young people's experiences of places can be. The challenge then becomes how the understandings of emotion and place and the dominant constructions of young people can be translated into effective and valuable action that helps create supportive places for young people while acknowledging and respecting their diversity and agency.

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Appendices

Appendix A: University of Canterbury human ethics approval letter



HUMAN ETHICS COMMITTEE

Secretary, Lynda Griffioen
Email: human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz

Ref: HEC 2013/81

24 July 2013

Kimberley Tanner
Department of Geography
UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY

Dear Kimberley

The Human Ethics Committee advises that your research proposal “Young peoples' emotional experiences of Kaiapoi's discursive and physical environments” has been considered and approved.

Please note that this approval is subject to the incorporation of the amendments you have provided in your email of 5 and 23 July 2013.

Best wishes for your project.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'L. MacDonald'.

Lindsey MacDonald
Chair
University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee

Appendix B: Interview schedule for adult key informant interviews

Interview questions

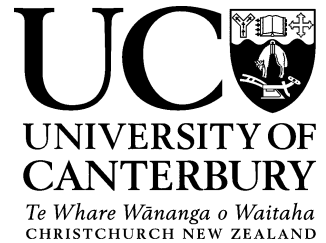
1. How does your job relate to/incorporate young people?
 - a. What kind of young people do you work with?
 - b. What issues do the young people you work with face?
 - c. How often would you come across or spend time with young people in your job?
2. What do you see as being some of the key issues facing young people living in Kaiapoi?
3. How would you describe Kaiapoi young people? What kind of words might you use?
4. How would you describe the behaviour of young people in Kaiapoi?
5. How would you describe their appearance?
6. How would you describe the attitudes of young people in Kaiapoi? Towards their town, adults, activities etc.?
7. In general, how would you describe the attitudes of other adults towards young people in Kaiapoi? What kinds of words or phrases might they use to describe young people?
8. In general, would you say that adult attitudes towards young people would be negative or positive? Why?
9. To what extent do you think Kaiapoi, as a town, provides positive opportunities and positive experiences for youth?
10. If not, what do you think could make Kaiapoi a more positive place for young people?

Appendix C: Adult key informant information sheet

Contact: Kimberley Tanner

0210621513

Email: kimberley.tanner@pg.canterbury.ac.nz



YOUNG PEOPLES' EMOTIONAL EXPERIENCES OF KAIAPOI'S DISCURSIVE AND PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENTS

Information Sheet for Adult Key Informants

This research project looks at the emotional experiences of young people living in Kaiapoi, with a particular focus on how they use different environments to get what they need socially and emotionally. I am interested in understanding the views that adults in Kaiapoi have about young people in the town and how these views impact their experiences and perceived place in Kaiapoi. I am also interested in understanding how young people live in, find meaning and creatively making use of the Kaiapoi environment.

This project is being led by Kimberley Tanner, a Masters student in the Department of Geography at the University of Canterbury.

You are invited to take part in the project. This information sheet describes what taking part will involve. If you have any questions about the project, please feel free to discuss them with Kimberley Tanner (contact details above).

What is the purpose of the project?

This study will help us to better understand the experiences of young people in Kaiapoi as they use the town's environment. It will help us to understand how young people are impacted by their local environment, which may help us to discover factors that make places supportive and positive for young people.

What is involved?

Taking part in this project will involve undertaking a face-to-face interview (20-30 minutes). The interview can happen at your workplace or at another local place of your choosing. I will conduct the interviews. They will explore your perspectives on young people living in Kaiapoi and the issues that they face in their lives.

Your participation in the project is voluntary and you may stop participating at any point, without penalty. During the interview you are free to decline to answer any questions you do not feel

comfortable answering. With your permission, I would like to audio-record the interview but the recording can be stopped at any time at your request.

What will happen to the information I provide?

The information you provide will be used to understand the views that adults have about young people in Kaiapoi. You will not be individually identified in any publications or presentations. Your name will remain anonymous in the findings and any potentially identifying information will never be used.

After the interview you will be sent a copy of the interview and given the opportunity to review the transcript. You will have two weeks to review your transcript, so you can correct information, request the removal of material deemed to be confidential or provide further comments. You will then be asked to return the transcripts to me via email.

The data collected for the project will be kept in locked and secure facilities and in a password protected computer at the University. It will only be accessible to my supervisor, David Conradson (Senior Lecturer in Geography at the University of Canterbury) and I. The data will be destroyed five years after completion of the project.

You may receive a copy of the project results by contacting the researcher at the end of the project.

What do I do next?

If you understand the information provided here and wish to participate in the study, please read and sign the consent form attached and return the consent form to the researcher before the interview.

Other information

This research project has been reviewed *and* approved by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee.

If you have any concerns or complaints about the research process, you can contact the Chair of the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch (human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz).

Thank you very much for taking the time to read this information sheet.

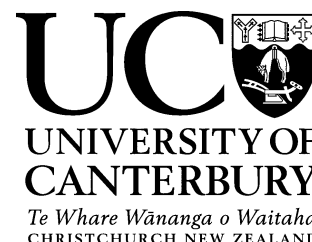
Kimberley Tanner

Appendix D: Consent form for adult key informants

Contact: Kimberley Tanner

0210621513

Email: kimberley.tanner@pg.canterbury.ac.nz



YOUNG PEOPLES' EMOTIONAL EXPERIENCES OF KAIAPOI'S DISCURSIVE AND PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENTS

Consent Form for Adult Key Informants

I have been given a full explanation of this project and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

I understand what is required of me if I agree to take part in the research.

I understand that participation in the research is voluntary and I may withdraw at any time without penalty.

I understand that any information or opinions that I provide will be kept confidential to the researcher and her supervisor, David Conradson, and that any published or reported results will not identify any individual participants.

I understand that all the information collected for the study will be kept in locked and secure facilities and/or in a password protected computer and will be destroyed after five years.

I understand that I can request a copy of the results of the research by contacting the researcher at the end of the project.

I understand that I can contact the researcher, Kimberley Tanner, for further information. If I have any complaints, I can contact the Chair of the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch (human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz)

By signing below, I agree to take part in the research project.

Name (please print): _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

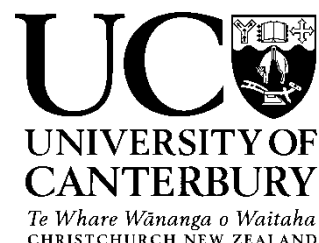
Email address (so I can send you a copy of the interview transcript for you to edit):

☐ I wish to receive a copy of the findings at the end of the project (please tick)

Please complete and return this consent form to the researcher before you undertake the interview.

Appendix E: Survey for youth participants

Young peoples' emotional experiences of Kaiapoi



Questionnaire for young people living in Kaiapoi

General Information:

- The survey should take around 15 to 20 minutes to complete.
- Please return the survey to Kimberley after you have completed it.
- Please see information sheet for more details on this research and questionnaire.

Thank you for taking the time to fill out the questionnaire.

Section 1: A little about you

1. I am (*please tick*): ☐ Male ☐ Female

2. How old are you?

☐ 13 years old

☐ 14 years old

☐ 15 years old

☐ 16 years old

☐ 17 years old

☐ 18 years or older

3. Which ethnic group, or groups, do you belong to?

(*Please tick the box or boxes that apply to you*)

☐ New Zealand European

☐ Māori

☐ Samoan

☐ Cook Island Maori

☐ Tongan

☐ Niuean

☐ Chinese

☐ Indian

☐ Other ethnic group (*please specify*): _____

Section 2: Living in Kaiapoi

4. How long have you lived in Kaiapoi? _____ years _____ months

5. For each statement below, please tick the option that best describes what you think.

	Yes, all the time	Most of the time	Sometimes	Not very often	No, not at all
I like living in Kaiapoi					
I feel proud that I live in Kaiapoi					
I feel safe in Kaiapoi					
I feel at home in Kaiapoi					
I feel like I am part of the Kaiapoi community					

6. What do you like most about living in Kaiapoi?

7. What do you least like about living in Kaiapoi?

8. In what places do you feel like you belong to the Kaiapoi community? (e.g. school, park with friends, home)

9. In what places do you feel like you don't belong to the Kaiapoi community?

Section 3: Being a teenager in Kaiapoi

10. For each statement below about Kaiapoi, please tick the option that best describes what you think.

In Kaiapoi...	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
There are things for people my age to do					
There are public spaces for people my age to hang out in (e.g. parks)					
There are youth groups/clubs for people my age to go to					
There are opportunities to take part in leisure/recreation activities for people my age					
There are youth events for people my age to enjoy					
There are local job opportunities for people my age					

11. Do you think there are any places for young people that are missing in Kaiapoi? *(please tick)*

☐ Yes – please list them below

☐ No

☐ Not sure

12. Do you think there are any opportunities for young people that are missing in Kaiapoi?
(please tick)

☐ Yes – please list them below

☐ No

☐ Not sure

13. What kinds of behaviours/activities do you associate with young people your age in Kaiapoi?
(Please tick as many as you think apply)

☐ Doing homework

☐ Drinking

☐ Going to youth events (e.g. youth group)

☐ Graffiti/Tagging

☐ Hanging out at McDonalds

☐ Hanging out with friends

<i>Your top 3</i>

<input type="checkbox"/> Having sexual relationships	
<input type="checkbox"/> Learning an instrument	
<input type="checkbox"/> Partying	
<input type="checkbox"/> Playing sport	
<input type="checkbox"/> Reading	
<input type="checkbox"/> Scootering	
<input type="checkbox"/> Skateboarding	
<input type="checkbox"/> Smoking	
<input type="checkbox"/> Spending time with family	
<input type="checkbox"/> Substance use	
<input type="checkbox"/> Texting	
<input type="checkbox"/> Walking around the streets	
<input type="checkbox"/> Other (<i>please write them down in the space below</i>)	

14. In the column beside the list above, select the **top 3** behaviours/activities that are most important to you (*please tick the appropriate boxes*).

15. In the space below, please write down why those top 3 behaviours/activities are important to you.

16. Which of these things do young people in Kaiapoi use to define themselves?
(Please tick as many as you think apply)

	<i>Your top 3</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> Clothing	
<input type="checkbox"/> Culture	
<input type="checkbox"/> Family	
<input type="checkbox"/> Gaming	
<input type="checkbox"/> Hairstyles	
<input type="checkbox"/> Having a boyfriend/girlfriend	
<input type="checkbox"/> Having lots of friends	
<input type="checkbox"/> Mobile phone	
<input type="checkbox"/> Music	
<input type="checkbox"/> Piercings	
<input type="checkbox"/> Places where you hang out	
<input type="checkbox"/> Playstation/Xbox/Nintendo	
<input type="checkbox"/> Religion/Spirituality	
<input type="checkbox"/> Sports	
<input type="checkbox"/> Social media <i>(Facebook, Twitter etc.)</i>	
<input type="checkbox"/> Tattoos	
<input type="checkbox"/> Values	
<input type="checkbox"/> Other <i>(please write them down in the space below)</i>	

17. In the column beside the list above, select the **top 3** things that are most important in defining your identity *(please tick the appropriate boxes)*.

18. In the space below, please write down why they are important to you.

Section 4: How do adults see young people in Kaiapoi?

19. For each of these statements about **adults in Kaiapoi**, please tick the option that best describes what you think.

Adults in Kaiapoi...	Yes, all the time	Most of the time	Sometimes	Not very often	No, not at all
Care about my needs					
Understand the issues that I face					
Take the time to listen to my ideas					
Value my opinions and involve me in decision-making					
Make me feel welcomed in the community					
Show me respect when I am out in the community					

20. Which of these views do you think adults in Kaiapoi have about young people your age?
(Please tick as many as you think apply)

Adults think young people in Kaiapoi are...

- ☐ Trouble makers
- ☐ 'Drunks' and 'druggies'
- ☐ Nuisances and disorderly in public spaces
- ☐ Threatening and people to be afraid of
- ☐ Victims and at risk in public space
- ☐ Important members of the Kaiapoi community
- ☐ People who have valuable ideas about how to make Kaiapoi a better place
- ☐ Studious and high achieving
- ☐ The future of Kaiapoi town

21. What kinds of views do you want adults to have about people your age?

Appendix F: Information sheet about survey for parents/guardians

Contact: Kimberley Tanner

0210621513

Email: kimberley.tanner@pg.canterbury.ac.nz



YOUNG PEOPLES' EMOTIONAL EXPERIENCES OF

KAIAPOI'S DISCURSIVE AND PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENTS

Information Sheet about survey for Parents/Guardians

My name is Kimberley Tanner, and I am currently completing a Masters degree in Human Geography at the University of Canterbury. As part of my degree, I am doing research about the experiences of young people living in Kaiapoi.

What is this research about?

The research is about how young people living in Kaiapoi use and are impacted by the town's different environments. I am interested in understanding:

- The ways that young people are viewed by adults and peers in the town, how these views impact their experiences of Kaiapoi and their perceived place in it.
- How young people use space by living in, finding meaning and creatively making use of the Kaiapoi environment.

What is involved?

Part of this project will involve your son or daughter completing a survey about their views on living in Kaiapoi and what it means to be a young person in Kaiapoi. They will be able to complete the survey during school time or at their youth group/club and it will take around 15 minutes to complete.

The survey will be taking place during Week 3 of Term 3.

Your child's involvement in the research is completely voluntary. They do not have to answer any questions they do not want to. They may also withdraw at any time, without any penalty, if they wish.

What will happen to the information they provide?

The information your son or daughter provides from the survey will help to understand young people's perceptions of living in Kaiapoi and what it means to be a young person in Kaiapoi.

Your son or daughter's name or any information about them (e.g. their address or family members' names) will not be used in any publications or presentations. Their name will remain anonymous in the findings.

The data collected for the project will be kept in locked and secure facilities and in a password protected computer at the University. It will only be accessible to my supervisor, David Conradson (Senior Lecturer in Geography at the University of Canterbury) and I. The data will be destroyed five years after completion of the project.

You may receive a copy of the project results by contacting the researcher at the end of the project.

What if I don't want my son or daughter to participate in the survey?

If you do not want your son or daughter to participate in the study please contact Kimberley Tanner (see contact details above) and ask that they are not approached and asked to be part of the study.

*Please note that this survey is using an **opt-out parental consent method**, which means that unless I hear from you, I will assume you have given your consent for your son or daughter to be part of the project.*

Who should I contact if I have any problems?

If you have any concerns or queries about the project itself, please do not hesitate to get in touch with me and we can discuss any queries you may have.

This research project has been reviewed *and* approved by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee.

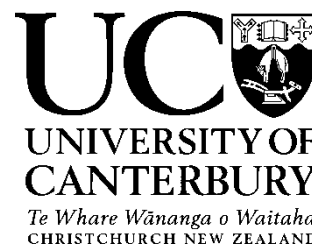
If you have any concerns or complaints about the research process, you can contact the Chair of the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch (human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz).

Thank you very much for taking the time to read this information sheet.

Kimberley Tanner

Appendix G: Outline of photovoice activity

Young peoples' emotional experiences of Kaiapoi



Photovoice activity

For this activity you are asked to take photographs of different places in Kaiapoi using your smartphone or a digital camera.

Here is a list of the different places you need to photograph:

- ☐ Your favourite place in Kaiapoi
- ☐ A place where you feel happy
- ☐ A place where you feel sad
- ☐ A place where you feel welcomed
- ☐ A place where you feel excluded
- ☐ A place where you feel safe
- ☐ A place where you feel like you belong
- ☐ Places you have started using since the earthquakes

It is important, for ethical reasons, that when you are taking your photographs that you **avoid taking photographs of people**. I understand that sometimes, particularly in public spaces, it may be difficult to avoid. If you cannot avoid having people in your photographs when I edit the photographs, I will blur them.

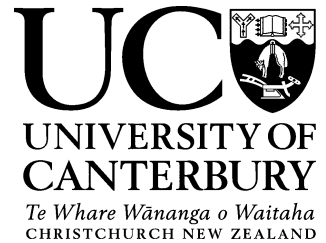
Appendix H: Information sheet for young people

Contact: Kimberley Tanner

03 327 0336

0210621513

Email: kimberley.tanner@pg.canterbury.ac.nz



YOUNG PEOPLES' EMOTIONAL EXPERIENCES OF KAIAPOI'S DISCURSIVE AND PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENTS

Information Sheet for Young People

My name is Kimberley Tanner, and I am currently completing a Masters degree in Human Geography at the University of Canterbury. As part of my degree, I am doing research about the experiences of young people living in Kaiapoi.

What is this research about?

The research is about how young people living in Kaiapoi use and are impacted by the town's different environments. I am interested in understanding:

- The ways that young people are viewed by adults and peers in the town, how these views impact their experiences of Kaiapoi and their perceived place in it.
- How young people use space by living in, finding meaning and creatively making use of the Kaiapoi environment.

I would be very grateful if you were willing to participate in this research.

What is involved?

The project will involve...

- **Survey:** This will occur at your school or youth group/club and will take around 15 minutes to complete. It is about your views on living in Kaiapoi and what it means to be a young person in Kaiapoi.
- **Photography activity and a follow-up interview:** This activity and interview will involve you taking photographs of places that are important to you in Kaiapoi and then having a discussion about why you choose those pictures and what they mean to you. This will help the researcher to understand the places that you like and do not like going to and why. These interviews will take 30-40 minutes and will be conducted in a public space such as the local McDonalds or a local cafe.

At every research stage of this project your involvement in the research is completely voluntary. You may wish to be part of one activity and not the others, and that is fine. You also do not have to answer any questions you do not want to. You may also withdraw at any time, without any penalty, if you wish.

With your permission, I would like to audio-record the interview but the recording can be stopped at any time at your request.

What will happen to the information I provide?

The information you provide from the...

- **Survey** will help to understand young people's perceptions of living in Kaiapoi and what it means to be a young person in Kaiapoi.
- **Photography activity and follow-up interview** will help to understand the places you like and dislike in Kaiapoi and why.

Your name or any information about you (e.g. your address, mobile number, or family members' names) will not be used in any publications or presentations. Your name will remain anonymous in the findings and you will be given the opportunity to choose a pseudonym or 'fake name' to use in the findings.

After the interview you will be sent a copy of our interview and given the opportunity to check over the transcript. You will have two weeks to review your transcript, so you can correct information, ask to take out information that you do not want to be shared or provide further comments. You will then be asked to return the transcripts to me via email.

The data collected for the project will be kept in locked and secure facilities and in a password protected computer at the University. It will only be accessible to my supervisor, David Conradson (Senior Lecturer in Geography at the University of Canterbury) and I. The data will be destroyed five years after completion of the project.

You may receive a copy of the project results by contacting the researcher at the end of the project.

Who should I contact if I have any problems?

This research project has been reviewed *and* approved by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee.

If you have any concerns or complaints about the research process, you can contact the Chair of the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch (human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz).

What do I do next?

If you understand the information provided here and wish to participate in the study, please read and sign the consent form attached and return the consent form to the researcher before the interview.

Thank you very much for taking the time to read this information sheet.

Kimberley Tanner

Appendix I: Information sheet about Photovoice Activity for parents/guardians

Contact: Kimberley Tanner

0210621513

Email: kimberley.tanner@pg.canterbury.ac.nz



YOUNG PEOPLE'S EMOTIONAL EXPERIENCES OF

KAIAPOI'S DISCURSIVE AND PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENTS

Information Sheet about Photovoice for Parents/Guardians

My name is Kimberley Tanner, and I am currently completing a Masters degree in Human Geography at the University of Canterbury. As part of my degree, I am doing research about the experiences of young people living in Kaiapoi.

What is this research about?

The research is about how young people living in Kaiapoi use and are impacted by the town's different environments. I am interested in understanding:

- The ways that young people are viewed by adults and peers in the town, how these views impact their experiences of Kaiapoi and their perceived place in it.
- How young people use space by living in, finding meaning and creatively making use of the Kaiapoi environment.

What is involved?

Part of this project involves your son or daughter taking part in a photography activity and follow-up interview.

The photography activity and interview will involve your son or daughter taking photographs of places that are important to them in Kaiapoi and then having discussion about why they chose those pictures and what they mean to them. This will help the researcher to understand the places that they like and don't like going to and why. These interviews will take 30-40 minutes and will be conducted in a public space such as the local McDonalds or a local cafe.

At every stage of the project your child's involvement in the research is completely voluntary. They can decide how involved they want to be in the project. They do not have to take part in all the

activities. They also do not have to answer any questions they do not want to. They may also withdraw at any time, without any penalty, if they wish.

With their permission, I would like to audio-record the interview but the recording can be stopped at any time at their request.

What will happen to the information they provide?

The information your son or daughter provides from the...

- **Photography activity and follow-up interview** will help to understand the places they like and dislike in Kaiapoi and why.

Your son or daughter's name or any information about them (e.g. their address or family members' names) will not be used in any publications or presentations. Their name will remain anonymous in the findings and they will be given the opportunity to choose a pseudonym or 'fake name' to use in the findings.

After the interview they will be sent a copy of our interview and given the opportunity to check over the transcript. They will have two weeks to review their transcript, so they can correct information, ask to take out information that they do not want to be shared or provide further comments. They will then be asked to return the transcripts to me via email.

The data collected for the project will be kept in locked and secure facilities and in a password protected computer at the University. It will only be accessible to my supervisor, David Conradson (Senior Lecturer in Geography at the University of Canterbury) and I. The data will be destroyed five years after completion of the project.

You may receive a copy of the project results by contacting the researcher at the end of the project.

Who should I contact if I have any problems?

If you have any concerns or queries about the project itself, please do not hesitate to get in touch with me and we can discuss any queries you may have.

This research project has been reviewed *and* approved by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee.

If you have any concerns or complaints about the research process, you can contact the Chair of the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch (human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz).

Thank you very much for taking the time to read this information sheet.

Kimberley Tanner

Appendix J: Consent form for young people

Contact: Kimberley Tanner

0210621513

Email: kimberley.tanner@pg.canterbury.ac.nz



YOUNG PEOPLE'S EMOTIONAL EXPERIENCES OF

KAIAPOI'S DISCURSIVE AND PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENTS

Consent Form for Young People

- ☐ The project has been fully explained to me and I have been given a chance to ask questions about the project.
- ☐ I understand that if I agree to take part in the research I will need to complete a survey, and if I want, take part in a photography activity and follow-up interview.
- ☐ I understand that for each task in the project my participation is voluntary, so I do not have to take part in every task and I may also withdraw at any stage without penalty.
- ☐ I understand that any information or opinions that I provide will only be seen by the researcher and her supervisor, David Conradson, and that any published or reported results will never use my real name or any information that could identify me.
- ☐ I understand that all the information collected for the study will be kept in locked and secure facilities and/or in a password protected computer and will be destroyed after five years.
- ☐ I understand that I can request a copy of the results of the research by contacting the researcher at the end of the project.
- ☐ I understand that I can contact the researcher, Kimberley Tanner, for further information. If I have any complaints, I or my parents can contact the Chair of the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch (human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz)

By signing below, I agree to take part in the research project.

Name (please print): _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

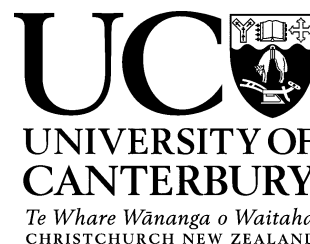
Please complete and return this consent form to the researcher before you undertake the survey and interview.

Appendix K: Consent forms for parents/guardians

Contact: Kimberley Tanner

0210621513

Email: kimberley.tanner@pg.canterbury.ac.nz



YOUNG PEOPLE'S EMOTIONAL EXPERIENCES OF

KAIAPOI'S DISCURSIVE AND PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENTS

Consent Form for Parents/Guardians

I _____ have read and understood the information sheet and give permission for my child to take part in the:

- ☐ Photography activity and follow-up interview

(Please tick)

Signature: _____

Date: _____

- ☐ Please tick this box if you would like to receive a copy of the findings and write down your email address so that I can send you a copy at the end of the project.

Email: _____

Please complete and return this consent form to the researcher.